

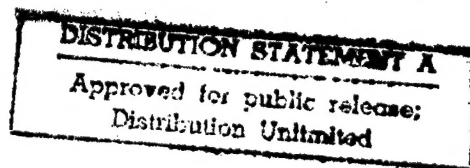
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JPRS-EPS-84-068

24 May 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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24 May 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

REPORTS ON PROCEEDINGS, END OF WORLD STUDENTS' CONGRESS

Conclusion of Congress

Sofia NARODNA MLADZHZH in Bulgarian 17 Apr 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Mikhail Noev and Ivan Popov: "With Concern and Responsibility for the Future"]

[Text] High Student Forum Closes Ceremonially Yesterday

New MSS [International Students Union] Governing Bodies and Final Documents Adopted

The forum to which our capital has been host for 6 days has passed into history. But the materials of the valuable discussions, of the speeches and, above all, the final documents that were adopted will not be shut away in the archives because they all, down to the last word, involve and belong to the future, because they are permeated from end to end with the profound concern and responsibility of the progressive world student movement for the tomorrow of the planet. And if we have to note in a few words what was most characteristic of the proceedings of the congress, it was precisely this--the clearly expressed and active resolution of world students to champion the ideas of peace, understanding and progress and to strengthen their anti-imperialist front.

The theme of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students pervaded the congress the entire time, but for the last 2 days was markedly dominant.

In the course of the business proceedings words of thanks and gratitude were repeatedly voiced at the forum to our country, to the youth and students of socialist Bulgaria not only for our hospitality, but also for our definite personal contribution to the development and strengthening of the student and youth movement and for our active stances in the defense of peace and progress.

Although the congress officially ended yesterday, in actual fact its business proceedings wound up late Sunday evening. At the first morning session reports of the work of the seven commissions and of the finance committee were heard. After this three new MSS members--the student unions of Malawi, Lesoto and Papua New Guinea--were admitted.

The first secretary of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union] Central Committee Viktor Mishin also took part in the proceedings of the afternoon plenary session. On behalf of the Soviet national festival preparations commission of which he is chairman, as well as on behalf of all Soviet youth, he **greeted** the world student delegates and wished them fruitful proceedings in their forum.

Dwelling more in detail on the festival movement, he stressed that it was precisely progressive students who were one of its initiators and founders and that academic youth have always been in its front ranks.

As representative of the host country of the forthcoming world forum, Viktor Mishin emphasized that the numerous suggestions for the preparation and conduct of the festival, voiced during the congress, would be carefully studied and analyzed and that they were bound to be most widely reflected in its program. He noted that it was precisely this broad discussion that created a good foundation for the active inclusion in the festival days of interesting, politically imbued and diverse student initiatives.

Viktor Mishin concluded by talking about the wealth of prefestival activity which Soviet young people and students are now launching and about the interesting ideas which are being generated at the universities.

Then the last plenary session was held, at which the delegates discussed and adopted 35 resolutions as congress documents. Not only the number of these, but also--and above all--the breadth of the topics touched upon, as well as the clearly expressed stands categorically affirming once more the fundamental principles on which the world progressive student movement is based, strikingly attest to the successful finale of the 6 congress days. Outstanding among these resolutions for their special place and the significance of the problems are the general resolution on the campaign for peace and disarmament, on preparations for the 12th World Festival, on the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the resolutions touching on the questions of the campaign for social rights, the democratization and reform of education, on national and social liberation.

Of special significance for us among these is the resolution of gratitude to the people and students of our country. [Reproduced below.] A document which is sincere and high appreciation and gratitude for everything which our socialist homeland and its youth have done and are doing on behalf of peace and progress.

Late Sunday evening the new MSS governing bodies were elected--the Executive Committee composed of 38 organizations, the Secretariat of 28 organizations, and the finance commission of four organizations. Reelected MSS president was Miroslav Štepan, representative of the SSM [Socialist Youth Union] of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The representative of the All-Cyprus Student Union (POFNE), Yorgos Michaelides, was elected MSS general secretary.

The 14th MSS Congress concluded yesterday afternoon at a special plenary session in a solemn setting. Present were the first secretary of the DKMS

[Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] Central Committee, Stavka Shopova; the first secretary of the VLKSM Central Committee, Viktor Mishin; delegates and many guests. The MSS president Miroslav Stepan delivered the concluding address. His first words again were words of gratitude and appreciation addressed to the hosts for the organizational work done by the Dimitrov Komsomol and Bulgarian students in connection with the holding of the congress. He also thanked Comrade Todor Zhivkov once more for the heartfelt greeting he conveyed to the forum.

Miroslav Stepan went on to make a survey of the entire proceedings of the congress, emphasizing the great role it has played in the development of the world student movement and its contribution to mobilization and further deployment in all directions in the student campaign. He also cited the role of the 14th Congress as extremely constructive and beneficial for the preparation and conduct of the 12th World Festival.

Therewith ended the greatest international student event in the prefestival year. And, as they parted, the delegates and guests expressed the wish to meet in Moscow at the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students.

#### Resolution Thanking Bulgarian Hosts

Sofia NARODNA MLADZHZH in Bulgarian 17 Apr 84 p 1

[Resolution of 14th MSS Congress in Sofia addressed to the people and students of the Bulgarian People's Republic]

[Text] The 14th MSS Congress, in session in Sofia, Bulgaria from 11 to 16 April 1984,

#### TAKING NOTE OF:

--the sentiments of friendship, solidarity and understanding expressed by the people, youth and students of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the representatives of the international progressive and democratic student movement;

--the great hospitality, warmth, constant concern and attention which the youth and students and their organizations--the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and the National Student Council as well as the people of the Bulgarian People's Republic have shown the 14th MSS Congress;

--the untiring efforts of the youth and students of Sofia to make the stay of the congress participants as useful, meaningful and successful as possible;

--the excellent working conditions provided for the congress, which in great measure contributed to its spirit and the success of its decisions,

AND APPRECIATING the opportunity afforded to congress participants to become familiar with the active participation of the Dimitrov Komsomol, the youth and students of the country in the intensified building of socialism in Bulgaria and with the great achievements of the Bulgarian people in all spheres of life,

HEREBY EXPRESSES sincere gratitude to the government, people, youth and students of the Bulgarian People's Republic, especially the youth and students of Sofia, and wishes them new successes in the further construction of a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

#### News Notes from Congress

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 17 Apr 84 p 1

[Text]--Yesterday just before the end of the congress, in a solemn setting the first secretary of the DKMS Central Committee Stanka Shopova presented to the former MSS general secretary Shrinisavan Kunalan the commemorative decoration "70 Years of Organized Youth Revolutionary Movement in Bulgaria." This high distinction of the Dimitrov Komsomol was awarded to him for all his activity in the MSS and for his services in the development of cooperation between the DKMS and the All-India Federation of Students.

In attendance at the presentation were the first secretary of the VLKSM Central Committee Viktor Mishin and MSS president Miroslav Stepan, as well as the secretaries of the DKMS Central Committee Andrey Bundzhulov and Nikolay Kamov.

--Participating altogether as delegates and guests in the forum were 433 delegates representing 170 national, regional and international student and youth organizations from 116 countries; 87 of the organizations represented were MSS members, 54 were other unions and movements, and 33 were international organizations.

--In the seven plenary sessions discussing the two basic congress documents 126 speeches were made.

--In all, 35 resolutions were adopted at the congress. Outstanding among them were the general resolution, the resolution on the disarmament program, the resolution to United States students, to the Stockholm Conference, the resolutions on solidarity, on the reform and democratization of education, on the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students etc.

--The congress elected three organizations--the national student unions of Malawi, Lesotho and Papua New Guinea--as new members of the International Student Union.

--On Sunday morning a press conference was held by delegates from the United Arab Emirates, Namibia and Mauritius with the accredited journalists.

#### Post-Conference Reception

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 17 Apr 84 p 2

[BTA dispatch]

[Text] The secretariat of the International Student Union gave a reception last night in the lounges of the "Moskva" Park Hotel at the conclusion of the

14th MSS Congress. Present were Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Dimitur Stanishev and leaders of the Dimitrov Komsomol. The reception passed off in a friendly atmosphere.

#### New MSS General Secretary

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 17 Apr 84 p 2

[Article: "We Present the New MSS General Secretary"]

[Text] Iorgos Michaelides, the new MSS general secretary, was born in 1958. He is a Cypriot by nationality.

He was graduated from the University of Patras in Greece with a specialty in mechanical engineering. He has been active politically since 1977 when he was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the All-Cyprus Student Union (POFNE). This is an organization which unites all progressive Cypriot students studying in various countries, as well as young scientists in Cyprus itself. Iorgos Michaelides is a POFNE representative to the MSS and since 1983 has been secretary of the International Student Union.

#### Projected Moscow Youth Festival

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 17 Apr 84 p 2

[Article: "In Affirmation of Festival Ideas--Academic Youth of the Planet"]

[Text] The Sunday topic of the proceedings at the student forum was most clearly and precisely formulated in one of the posters distributed here in the words, "Hello, festival!" And one of the resolutions adopted at the congress summarized everything said about the forthcoming World Youth and Student Holiday in Moscow, as well as the suggestions and ideas about its preparation and conduct.

This topic was actually--along with the campaign for peace and social rights--the basic topic on all congress days. What an important place in their activity the delegates of progressive studenthood gave to the preparation and conduct of the world forum in Moscow is eloquently attested by the fact that, along with the report, it was the 12th Festival to which the second basic congress document was devoted.

Thus quite logically and naturally the discussions on the agenda of the 14th MSS Congress prepared the atmosphere for the starting day of another great youth event to which we are hosts--the Second Session of the International Preparations Committee for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow.

On the eve thereof, five [sic] representatives of youth and student organizations commented as follows:

Aleksandur Zhuganov, secretary of the VLKSM Central Committee, leader of the Soviet delegation: "The 14th MSS Congress is one of the biggest events taking place in the period before the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students. Therefore the opinions and the support of the Moscow forum expressed here are a significant contribution to its preparation and conduct.

"I am glad that all the speakers at the congress warmly supported the idea of holding the festival and declared their readiness to work for its success not only within the framework of the national preparations committees already set up in most countries, but also in their overall MSS activity.

"I want to thank the DKMS Central Committee and all Bulgarian youth for their magnificent hospitality to this congress, as well as for everything they are doing for the successful preparation and conduct of the 12th World Festival."

Anne Marie Johnson, president of the World Federation of Medical Student Organizations: "Our federation has prepared a special program in preparation for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students. In it, to begin with, we include both the holding of congresses of medical students and a number of initiatives, through which we accentuate the idea that mankind cannot be treated after a nuclear war and therefore the threat of such a conflict must be abolished.

"For good preparation of the 12th World Festival many consultations at the local, regional and international level are needed. This congress, at which 116 countries are represented, offers a magnificent opportunity for conversations at every one of these levels. And, to be sure, we must take into account the great benefit of the discussions conducted at the 14th Congress on all problems affecting the youth and students of the whole world, which are making a very great contribution to the preparation of the 12th World Festival."

Delakhi Dashzhamts, secretary of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union, leader of the Mongolian delegation: "By its proceedings, by its discussions and the documents it has adopted, the 14th MSS Congress has made a definite contribution to the development of the festival movement. This is clear proof that the progressive students of the planet, whose delegates have assembled here, will take an active part in the preparation and conduct of the World Youth Holiday in Moscow.

"The youth and students of our country have warmly supported the idea that Moscow should be the next festival capital. They will actively assist in the preparations for the forum and will make every effort for its successful conduct. As an example of our concrete contribution to affirmation of the festival idea, let me cite the conference of the youth of Asia and Oceania on the questions of peace, cooperation and understanding which we anticipate holding in Ulan Bator next August. It is to discuss the alarming problems in this region of the world, but at the same time will take up also the



contribution of the youth of Asia and Oceania to the preparation and conduct of the festival. We believe that the Asian youth organizations will support our initiative, implementation of which would lead to intense activization of unity on behalf of peace and solidarity."

Gabriel Pereira, leader of the Mozambique delegation: "The youth organization and all young people of Mozambique warmly support the initiative for holding the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students under the watchword 'For anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship.' We believe that the festival movement offers a magnificent opportunity to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the students and young people of the entire world and to work still more persistently to eliminate the threat of nuclear war. It also affords an opportunity to mobilize the forces of the progressive youth of the world against colonialism and neocolonialism, Zionism and apartheid.

"The 14th MSS Congress, which is being held in Georgi Dimitrov's beautiful country, is a very important step towards preparation of the festival. Our main goal now is to energize still more our common campaign for democracy, for peace and social progress.

"I believe that the Second Session of the International Preparations Committee for the 12th World Festival which will be held immediately after the congress will be of great benefit for us and will add to our ideas about setting up a national preparations committee, something which our country will have to do in the very near future."

6474

CSO: 2200/116

## MILITARY CONSTRUCTION SCHOOL ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Apr 84 p 3

[Text] A. Regular Education

The General Blagoy Ivanov HPMCA [Higher People's Military Construction Academy] in Sofia-Sukhodol trains officer cadres for command-engineering positions required by the Main Administration of Construction Troops, with a 5-year period of education.

Those who graduate successfully from the academy receive a standard higher education diploma and the military training of a military engineer for industrial and civil construction, and a civil construction engineer training for industrial and civil construction.

Students who complete the regular curriculum receive the military rank of lieutenant after they graduate.

The young men who apply should comply with the following requirements:

- they should be Bulgarian citizens;
- they should have completed their high school education, with exemplary behavior and a 12.00 minimum rating based on the total of grades from the diploma and the grades for mathematics and physics;
- they should take military service to heart;
- they should be active members of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union;
- they should be physically healthy;
- they should be 23 years of age (as of 1 September 1984);
- they should not be married;
- they should not have been previously convicted or presently under criminal investigation or on trial;
- they should have been designated by the unit commander (for those in regular military service).



Candidates who have not yet started their regular military service should send the following documents to the military district chiefs (where they report), and to the chief of the academy: the application, autobiography (standard form), diploma for completed high school education or transcript of grades, certificate showing no previous conviction, affidavit certifying that they will serve as officers for at least 10 years, and a document for using a privilege.

Applicants already in military service should send the documents mentioned above to their unit commanders.

The deadline for applications at the military districts for the pre-conscription candidates is 15 July 1984, and for those applicants in regular military service and those discharged before 1984 the deadline is 4 June 1984.

Each candidate should take an examination at the academy. The results of the entrance exams taken at other higher military and civil education institutions are not taken into consideration for admission to the academy.

The candidates take a written exam in:

- a) mathematics--on 11 August 1984;
- b) general knowledge--on 12 August 1984;
- c) the physical, psychophysiological and medical examinations of all candidates will take place on 13, 14, and 15 August 1984.

The candidates should present themselves at the academy on 10 August 1984, at 2:00 pm, in order to receive instructions for taking the exams.

Traveling expenses, food, and lodging are to be paid by the candidates themselves.

Candidates in the military service will travel with a permit issued by the outfit where they serve and will be registered for food distribution by presenting a food coupon.

The education of students at the academy during the 5-year period is funded by the state.

#### B. Education by Correspondence

1. Education by correspondence at the General Blagoy Ivanov HPMCA is open to officers, sergeants who have re-enlisted, and military volunteers and workers (men) from the Construction Troops.

2. Candidates who satisfy the following conditions will be able to apply for education by correspondence:

--they should have completed their high school education;

--they should have no less than 1 year of working experience in the Construction Troops as of 1 June 1984, and they should be working in their specialty;

- they should have completed their regular military service;
- they should have been designated by their district commanders;
- they should have permission from the Main Administration of the Construction Troops; they should satisfy the requirements for officers in the reserve (for volunteers and workers).

In addition, the following requirements need to be met:

For officers:

- they should not be older than 40 years of age as of 1 September 1984.

For sergeants who have re-enlisted:

- they should have graduated from the sergeants' academy or the school for junior sergeants with total grades of "very good" (4.50);
- they should not be older than 23 years of age.

For volunteers and workers:

- they should not be older than 30 years of age.

3. Candidates for education by correspondence who satisfy the requirements should present a report, through command channels, to the Main Administration of the Construction Troops by 30 April 1984, in order to receive permission for education by correspondence, by attaching the following:

- a copy of the diploma for high school (college) education completed;
- a personal record from the outfit.

Officers who have completed the college program of the academy will be accepted according to the conditions in sections 12 and 13 of Ordinance No 613 of 26 August 1965.

4. The following documents should be submitted by 4 June 1984, through command channels, to the chief of the General Blagoy Ivanov HPMCA (volunteer servicemen should submit their applications through the military district where they report):

- an application for admission to the entrance exam or registration for those who have completed the college curriculum;
- diploma for the college education completed or officially certified copy;
- permission for education by correspondence issued by the Main Administration of the Construction Troops;

- a medical certificate;
- an autobiography;
- a certificate showing no previous convictions;
- certificate of working experience;
- document showing a privilege.

5. Attendance at the written entrance exams, evaluation of the written tests, computing the grades for education by correspondence, and the final ranking of the candidates takes place according to the regulations defined for regular education.

6. Candidates for education by correspondence enjoy the same privileges as the candidates for regular education.

7. Decisions on the admission of candidates for education by correspondence are made by the Admission Commission after conducting a personal interview with the candidates.

Information: telephone 23-34-94 and 2-12-81 (extensions 425, 533, 457, 431, 414).

12334

CSO: 2200/110

## BRIEFS

NEW TELECOMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT--Sofia--6 April (BTA)--The construction of a coaxial cable highway which is to ensure telephone connections of the countries of Western Europe towards the Middle East through Bulgaria started. The Sofia-Dragoman road bed will continue to the town of Nis in Yugoslavia. The setting up of a coaxial cable highway is the first project the construction of which is regulated by an instruction by the Council of Ministers for an accelerated building of the international and communication network connecting the villages and towns of the country. After its final completion Bulgaria will be turned into an important communication centre. [Text] [AU081545 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 6 Apr 84]

INTERCOSMOS SESSION IN SOFIA--The regular 17th session of the permanent working group on space meteorology of the Intercosmos Program member-countries has ended in Sofia. The working group was pleased to note that a station for exploring the atmosphere with rockets and for studying its upper layers was commissioned on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria. The working group also attached considerable significance to the issues of further increasing the effectiveness of the joint work and of more extensively utilizing the results achieved in the scientific and practical activity of the meteorological stations involved in the program of the Intercosmos member-countries. [Text] [AU141739 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 9 Apr 84]

ZHIVKOV SPEECH PUBLISHED--Under the headline "Quality--Key Issue in Constructing the Mature Socialist Society," PARTIZDAT has published the speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the 30 March 1983 Varna national conference of the party, state, economic, and public aktiv. [Text] [AU141739 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 Apr 84]

DPRK RADIO, TELEVISION COOPERATION--Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, received Li Chon Nam [spelling as published], deputy chairman of the Radio and Television Committee of the DPRK, who is visiting our country. They discussed questions of intensifying cooperation in the field of mass media, in the radio and television programs sector, in particular. The meeting, which proceeded in a comradely atmosphere, was attended by Stefan Tikhchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Radio and Television Committee. A cooperation agreement and a working protocol were signed yesterday mapping out the basic trends in the development of relations in radio-television exchange between Bulgaria and the DPRK. The documents were signed by Stefan Tikhchev, chairman of the Bulgarian

Radio and Television Committee, and Li Chon Nam, deputy chairman of the DPRK Radio and Television Committee. [Excerpts] [AU141816 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Apr 84 p 8]

PRIVATE FARMING SUCCESSES--The activists of the Fatherland Front organizations in Ruse Okrug are contributing in a specific way to the implementation of the Okrug's socioeconomic program, and the work devoted to obtaining more production from the private plots is part of this activity. The fact that over 13,000 households in Ruse Okrug have been allocated 500 square meters of irrigated, arable land each is of great importance for the successes achieved in agricultural production. All this has contributed to the implementation of the 1983 plan on production obtained from private plots in the agricultural sector, according to the following indexes: 116 percent in the meat sector; 145 percent in the poultry sector; 149 percent in the milk sector; 102 percent in the eggs sector; and 101 percent in the vegetable sector. A total of 2,626 tons of meat have been delivered in Ruse Okrug from animals raised with the farmers' own fodder, which is approximately 40 percent of the total amount. The work of the Fatherland Front organizations is also producing results in 1984. The private plots in Ruse Okrug are expected to deliver 336 tons of meat, 455,000 liters of milk; 108,000 eggs, and 1,798 tons of fruit and vegetables in excess of the 1983 achievements in this sector. [Excerpts] [AU141816 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Apr 84 p 2]

SPORTS COOPERATION WITH IRAQ--Sofia, 13 April (BTA)--A delegation of the Ministry of Youth and Sport of Iraq, led by Mr Nouri Faisal Shakhir [spelling as received], chairman of the National Olympic Committee of Iraq, is on a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Physical Culture and Sport Union. The two delegations' heads expressed concern and alarm with regard to the preparation of the forthcoming Olympic Games in Los Angeles, with regard to the violation of the Olympic Charter and the regulations of the international sport organizations. Expressed was confidence that the International Olympic Committee will take active measures in order to turn the Olympic Games into a real holiday for the young people and sport of all countries. The delegation of the Ministry of Youth and Sport of Iraq expressed full backing to Sofia's nomination for being the organizer and host of the Winter Olympic Games in 1992. There was signed a protocol on sport cooperation for 1984, in which exchange of teams and delegations, of sports experts, is planned. [Excerpts] [AU14186 Sofia BTA in English 0739 GMT 13 Apr 84]

GUADELOUPE CP CONGRESS GREETED--The BCP Central Committee has sent the following message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe: Dear Comrades, the BCP Central Committee sends fraternal greetings to the delegates of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe and all Guadeloupe communists and wishes the congress successful and fruitful work. The Bulgarian communists highly value the activity of your party, which in its 40-year existence has conducted a firm struggle against the local and foreign exploiters in defense of the vital interests of working people and for the triumph of the irrevokable right of the Guadeloupe people to self-determination. We are confident that the decisions of the congress will even further mobilize the Guadeloupe communists in the struggle against imperialism and reaction to achieve real national independence and world peace and security. We confirm our

readiness to further expand the relations between our two fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in the interest of the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement. Long live the Communist Party of Guadeloupe. [Text] [AU011430 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Apr 84 p 1]

BALEV MEETS ZIMBABWE LEADERS--Harare, 3 May (BTA)--Yesterday Mr Robert Mugabe, president of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front and prime minister of Republic Zimbabwe received Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CC of the BCP and member of the State Council of the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian guest was also received by Mr Canaan Banana, the president of Zimbabwe. He had talks with Mr Simon Muzenda, the vice president of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front and deputy prime minister as well with Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende. During the talks opinions were exchanged on the most topical issues of the present international situation and the situation in the African south as well as the further promoting and development of bilateral relations and cooperation. [Text] [AU031927 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 3 May 84]

LIBYAN ECONOMIC DELEGATION VISITS--Sofia, 7 May (BTA)--From 29 April through 7 May, a Libyan economic delegation led by the secretary of the Heavy Industry of the General People's Committee of Libya, Mr 'Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir, visited the country. He was received by the secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, Mr Todor Zhivkov, by the chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Grisha Filipov and by the deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Andrey Lukanov. Mr 'Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir had meetings with the following ministers: of mechanical engineering, Mr Ognyan Doynov, of building and urban planning, Mr Grigor Stoichkov, of the chemical industry, Mr Georgi Pankov and of foreign trade, Mr Khristo Khristov. The delegation visited the engineering economic organization of "Chimkomplekt" in the capital and the chemical works in Dimitrovgrad, Stara Zagora and Devnya, the oil chemical combine in Burgas, the mechanical works "Chimmash" in Khaskovo and the machine tools plant in the capital. At the talks, which proceeded in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, there were discussed the chances for further development of mutually advantageous cooperation in the sphere of the chemical and the oil processing industry, their scientific and technological servicing and the construction of complete projects. A protocol on the accords achieved was signed. [Text] [AU071621 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 7 May 84]

CSO: 2200/120

'NOT' VIEWS ON PROPER THRUST OF ECONOMIC REFORM SPELLED OUT

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 11, 11 Mar 84, No 12, 18 Mar 84

[Paper prepared by NOT (Chief Technical Organization) Scientific-Technical Committee on Economics and Economic Reform]

[11 Mar 84 supplement 1-4]

[Text] The position of the Chief Technical Organization on the ways by which the economy can be reformed was the subject of many commentaries in 1983. At the suggestion of our readers--representatives of the scientific-engineering community--we are publishing a paper prepared by the NOT Scientific-Technical Committee on Economics and Economic Reform which was approved by the NOT Main Board Presidium.

1. Introduction

This paper was prepared in compliance with a resolution passed on 17 October 1983 by the NOT Main Council and approved on 16 January 1984 by the NOT Main Board Presidium. It is a continuation of a debate on ways by which the economy can be reformed and it is also a summary of the last stage of the discussion which took place on this subject in the scientific-engineering community, in which the following took part: members of the NOT Scientific-Technical Committee on Economics and Economic Reform, the NOT Provincial Councils and Scientific-Technical Associations. The decided majority was in favor of the formulations presented here, which reflect views expressed for over 4 years.

The position presented in this paper is aimed at:

--increasing the effectiveness of economic reform by adapting its mechanisms to current conditions,

--hastening the recovery from the economic depression and the development of the national economy,

--presenting the position and the role of engineers and technicians on matters relating to the national economy in order to stimulate the technical community to greater activity in the various sectors of the economy.

The proposals submitted by NOT to the authorities on amending basic laws which affect the functioning of mechanisms of economic reform had a distinct influence on the contents of draft amendments, published on 6 October 1983, of several important laws. This material was prepared before the above-mentioned date, therefore it is possible to assess the range of the NOT proposals received by the Commission on Economic Reform.

Reform is a process. It is subject to changes appropriate to the conditions under which it is proceeding. Thus the NOT S-T Committee on Economics and Economic Reform appeals to all members of the Scientific-Technical Associations (SNT) to take an active part in applying economic reform, observe its results, and submit their opinions.

Despite the noticeable lack of confidence on the part of some circles of society in the manner in which the state apparatus functions, the majority of our people know that whether or not Poland's economic difficulties will be surmounted is entirely dependent on the Poles and their willingness to do so.

At present a large number of the factors assumed in reform are not improving the situation and many of the solutions accepted are worsening the state of the economy (price escalations, excessive wages and growth of inflation, reduction of product quality, reductions in plans, insufficient coordination of enterprises' activities, etc.).

The priority task is the elimination or reduction of negative conditions and the accomplishment of essential structural changes in production. This will take a period of several years. This task characterizes the first period of economic reform.

While constantly observing the results of the operations of the mechanisms of reform, further modifications should be prepared, adapted to the situation which will serve as the measure of the outcome of the first stage of application of reform.

Only a broader exchange of views on the above-mentioned subjects and decisions honestly made on this basis can enhance society's confidence in reform and increase its sense of responsibility for its application, strengthen its desire to act so as to bring about the necessary balance as quickly as possible and begin the expansion of the economy. In the later stages of discussion on economic reform we intend to call special attention to sector and subsector solutions. The above-mentioned solutions should take into account the general principles discussed in this paper. This pertains particularly to agriculture, mining and construction.

## 2. The Role of the Engineers and Technicians in the Economy

The basis of the economy is production which meets social needs. The responsibility for preparing this production, the production itself and its results, for utilizing production factors, for technical operation and conservation of fixed assets--lies primarily with the engineers and technicians. The scope of their responsibility increases as they direct economic activity. They are then even more responsible for the economic results achieved in the units they



lead. Hence engineers and technicians bear joint responsibility for the entire economy and especially for satisfying the needs of society, technical and organizational progress and economic results.

There are many economic activists among the engineers and technicians, whose knowledge and experience, based on concrete, practical activity, should be utilized in economic decisionmaking. That is why the voice of the technical community on ways to reform the national economy and develop it is extremely important if proper mechanisms for the operation of this economy are to be constructed.

### 3. Assumptions on the Thrust of Economic Reform

Adapting the thrust of economic reform to the conditions existing during the period of implementation. If economic reform does not take into account the social and economic conditions arising in a given period and these conditions are not gradually transformed in the desired direction, the situation will become worse. Such an error can occur when the thrust of reform is adapted to conditions assumed in theory, conditions which occur in other socioeconomic systems, or when the assumptions are made on the basis of a mistaken assessment of the situation in Poland. Of the currently existing negatives for the broad application of market mechanisms, the following are of primary importance:

--the existence of an almost exclusively producer market (the majority of the producers are monopolists),

--lack of competition among trading units,

--lack of workers, under conditions of excess employment,

--shortages of most raw and other materials and improper and uneconomical management of these materials,

--low absorptiveness of the economy for scientific and technical innovations.

Furthermore, to a large degree the level of qualifications, organizational skill or social and economic expertise on the part of the managers of economic units at various levels is inadequate.

Responsibility for public property entrusted to enterprises, for their efficient operation, and their satisfaction of economic and social needs, is the individual responsibility of the director as the representative of the society appointed by the government, and of the workers council which participates in management and is elected by the workforce of the enterprise.

The interconnection of enterprises' autonomy and central state apparatus activity. During the present period of economic activity, full use should be made of the influence of a proven system of central planning on the broad range of autonomy exercised by the enterprises, with consideration to the proper scope of self-dependence, self-government, and self-financing.

/For comparison: During the last few years the capitalist states deemed it advisable to bring planning into the economy and by various methods increased the degree of government intervention in business. The socialist states have been observing the operation of "market mechanisms" with interest, and some of them tried, and are trying, to apply these methods (Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland). It is difficult today to determine with full certainty what the final outcome of these changes will be in both groups of countries./ [in italics].

In Poland it would be prudent to make the system of coordination of individual elements of the economy more efficient, so as to make the operation of the entire economy more efficient. On the other hand, market mechanisms should be applied after they have been very carefully selected, giving the self-financing enterprises the freedom to prepare their own plans, and to give them the most self-dependence and self-government in the implementation of the agreed-upon tasks. This is necessary so that those achievements in the system of managing the economy, which are believed in almost the entire world to be progressive and indispensable to the solving of present and future social and economic needs, can be reinforced.

The amount of self-dependence of enterprises in the first period of reform should stem from the fact that most of them have been and will for a long time still be specifically specialized elements of the entire national economy, that they functioned and still function as part of a homogenous system.

Because of this, the self-dependence of the enterprises must have specific limits so as not to go beyond the role that they must play for many years. That is why the enterprises should adapt themselves to the agreements concluded between themselves and the central organs of authority as to their tasks. The form of these agreements may differ, and the self-dependence, self-government and self-financing should be used primarily for the full implementation of precisely these agreed-upon tasks.

The main goal during the current and future periods should be to satisfy the social needs to the maximum extent, at the lowest possible costs of production and prices of products, i.e., with the highest possible management efficiency. The measure of this efficiency will be the financial results, combined with other data on the enterprises' operations. Maximum profit cannot be the principal criterion for the enterprises' operations. Their managers cannot for this goal alone freely, independently dispose of the public property entrusted to them for their use.

The scope of the self-management of the enterprise workforce should correspond to the scope of its self-dependence.

The scope of self-financing activity. The enterprise must conduct its activities based on utilizing domestic and foreign funds with the greatest efficiency and economy.

#### 4. Methods of Implementing Economic Reform During the Next Few Years

Implementation of enterprise self-dependence. Enterprise self-dependence in the first period of economic reform should be directed towards:

--developing programs for its expansion and long-range, 5-year and yearly plans of activity based on instructions from the central planner as to social and economic needs, and also on market research, marketing and the file of orders accepted. These plans should be coordinated with government or territorial organs. These organs may discontinue coordination of plans when they deem this to be possible because supplies of products correspond to public demand.

/The concept of planned enterprise expansion is understood to mean at least the problems of the development of assortments of products, their construction, i.e., utilitarian properties, quality, method of manufacture, enterprise organization, development of production capacity, planning of production costs and prices, sales domestically and abroad, after-sales service, development of enterprise workers' cadres, and working and living conditions./ [in italics].

--Self-dependent technical preparation of production, or with the participation of various scientific centers, conduct of scientific-research and development work, design, technological preparation of production of products and control of their quality. Government organs would intervene in these sets of problems where it was ascertained that results in this area are inadequate.

--Production of goods and services with the participation (engaged by them) of domestic and foreign coproducers. Where an enterprise encounters difficulties in finding coproducers, or their production does not meet quality or quantity requirements, it has the right to turn to government or territorial organs with a substantiated proposal to take action which would result in complete coordination of activities.

--Supplying itself with raw materials, other materials, and components from various sources, including:

- state-controlled and from central import,
- from domestic producers in all sectors of the economy (socialized, cooperative, private),
- from import paid out of foreign exchange earned by the enterprise and put at its disposal,
- on the basis of agreements with purchasers of the products, ensuring deliveries of their own materials for processing.

--Maintaining the entrusted fixed assets in good technical condition. The supervision and control of the operation of fixed assets definitely needs to be increased.

--Modernization and expansion of production capacity through investment from own domestic funds and foreign-exchange funds at the disposal of the enterprise, from domestic bank credits, and with the permission of the authorities, foreign credits. Where government or territorial organs have determined that the level of development of production capacity is insufficient or unsuitable in relation to the country's overall needs, they should intervene in the operations of the enterprise with the help of economic means and administrative measures prescribed by law.

--Sales of products directly to their domestic and foreign users through own sales or service networks, and also to wholesale enterprises and retail trade network. Sales of products abroad without the necessity of obtaining a license for export operations, however after obtaining permission for the government organ to conduct a specific transaction (license).

--Self-dependent organization for after-sales servicing of products or through authorized enterprises (licensed) in all sectors of the economy, except that full responsibility for service efficiency rests with the product manufacturer.

--Improving the skills of the workforces and future employees of the enterprises by utilizing vocational training institutions.

--Establishing rules governing wages, bonuses, and profit-sharing within the framework of state regulations and understandings with trade unions in effect.

--Disposing of enterprise's financial means and funds in various types of accounts, and part of the net profit left to the enterprise. Self-dependence in the area of the enterprise's social services in behalf of the employees, and housing construction with part of the profits left to the enterprise.

--Employment of the workforce to the limits dictated by the situation in the area and the national regulations pertaining to this.

/This is a broad list of rights to self-dependence by the enterprises, much larger than those in Western enterprises comprising some businesses. (Many of them only have the right to produce according to plan and to reduce planned prime costs.)/ [in italics].

Implementation of enterprise self-management and responsibility for national property entrusted to them.

--The primary responsibility for conditions in the enterprise lies with the director, who is subject to appropriate sanctions for excesses or mistakes, can be dismissed, and even punished (through court proceedings) in accordance with the penal code.

--Workforces participating in the management of an enterprise, working jointly with the director, have the right to pass resolutions expressing:

..decisions, on matters dealing with the management of the enterprise in an area in which they have complete autonomy,

..opinions, on issues important to the enterprise on which their autonomy is limited.

The group of rights also contains the right to coordinate positions with the director and government or territorial organs on issues which require a comparison of opinions and agreements. The self-government also has the right to inspect all of the activities of the enterprise.

--Participation in enterprise management and inspection rights permit the self-government to go to the board of directors and government organs with all kinds of suggestions and proposals which should be aimed at better satisfying social needs and utilizing the national assets, and at increasing the financial benefits of the enterprise and the workforce. The workforce's participation in management cannot be without consequence if its representatives--the workers' council, co-manage the enterprise badly. In such cases the founding organs, if the workforce does not do this itself earlier, can suspend the operations of the workers' council. Sanctions against the director and the workers' council should be applied primarily when the following occurs:

..production is not planned in conformance with the public interest and costs of production and services, and prices, are increased without substantiation,

..unwarranted or poor utilization of production capability,

..loss of manufacturing capacity of fixed assets due to inefficient operation and regeneration,

..inadequate attempts at technical advancements in the use characteristics of products, their quality, and improvements in manufacturing methods.

--In return for its participation in the management of the enterprise, the workforce has a right to share in a part of its profits.

--Disputes between organs managing the enterprise are settled by an arbitration commission or the competent court. However, founding organs act in the role of supervisors and inspectors of the enterprise.

--The workers' council as an organ co-managing the enterprise stands solidly with the director as regards the trade unions, which are the representative of the workforce in social-welfare and wage matters.

The proper selection of a director and management cadre and the desirable traits of members of the workers' council.

The correct selection and evaluation of the management cadre of enterprises, organs or administration, and the composition of the workers' council, are of primary importance for the success of economic reform and the development of enterprises. If labor productivity is assumed to be the measure of the state of preparedness and the organization of production, than it is important to state that the influence of direct producers on results obtained (approximately 20 percent) is dependent on the proper execution of functions by the managing organs at all levels.

--When enterprise directors and managers at all levels of management are being selected, and also when the workforce is proposing candidates for the workers' council, the following criteria should be considered:

..technical, organizational and management skill as concerns the enterprise's operations, and the indispensable, on a specific level, demonstrated achievements in practice in such areas as: forecasting, organizing and directing, coordinating and control,

..moral and civic attitude, strong and enduring will, initiative, energy, courage, and sense of responsibility; concern for the public interest and co-workers and their development; ability to get along with people and make use of their knowledge and experience,

..intelligence and mental alertness, ability to think for themselves, to seek improvement, education and professional competence,

..health and physical and mental endurance.

--When a director of an enterprise is being chosen through competition, the competition commission should comprise--in addition to representatives of the founding organ, financing bank, workers' council, trade unions, political and youth organizations--representatives of the technical associations affiliated with NOT, economic organizations, and the scientific organization and management functioning in the enterprise.

--The director of an enterprise is appointed and dismissed by the founding organ at his own initiative after obtaining the opinion of the workers' council, or at the initiative of the workers' council.

The organs deciding the selection of the management cadre are responsible for the correct application of evaluation criteria and correct filling of positions.

Implementation of self-financing in socialized enterprises. Self-financing during the first period of the application of economic reform should consist of self-dependent financing of costs of production, services and sales, after-sales service, and costs of development, including investment.

--The enterprise's statutory fund, equal to the value of fixed assets and working capital, is intended to cover the costs of production, services and sales, and also after-sales activities. The fund is initially supplied to the enterprise by the founding organ.

--/Costs of production and services stem from the kind and number of tasks which the enterprise is to execute and the unit (substantiated and documented) costs of production of products or services/ [in italics].

--/Costs of sales and after-sales services encompass all costs relating to the development of sales, the conduct of sales on the domestic and foreign market and after-sales service/ [in italics].

--/Costs of development stem from costs of conducting own or commissioned to other institution, enterprises and centers, scientific research and development work for the development of products and services, making it possible to increase production capability, improve product quality and reduce unit costs of production and other purposes/ [in italics].

--The Technical Advancement Fund providing for the conduct of scientific research, development and applications work is charged to the costs of production in accordance with the standards specified by the government organs. The enterprise disburses part of the money from this fund according to government norms into a Central Fund for Technical Advancement, and into scientific-research work. The Technical Advancement Fund may be additionally replenished from the development fund. Its apportionment, as a separate fund, is aimed at requiring the enterprise to put aside money for technical advancement. Some enterprises may be exempted from this because the work that they do does not require such funds. The money not used in this fund within the allocated time should be deposited to the account of the Central Fund for Technical Advancement. This money comes out of the costs of production for which society or the economy has already paid, and therefore its return can be required.

--An enterprise can draw money from the Central Fund for Research Work if it undertakes a task ensuing from government programs, critical programs, and ministerial-subsector programs which involve "government orders".

--Out of the gross profits the enterprises pay the following into the State Treasury:

..income tax on gross profit, and

..the state's share of the net profit, which will be no lower than the sum of the interest on the amount of the paid-up fixed assets gross (after paying investment credits and costs of these credits) and the nonmaterial means. The amount of the interest should correspond to the interest rate on bank account deposits.

--The rest of the gross profits remain in the enterprise and are divided into the development, reserve and workforce funds.

--/The development fund is intended for investment activity, and is created from part of the net profits remaining in the enterprise and from amortization allowances. The unused amortization may be deposited in a bank in an interest-bearing account. The bank may use the sums entrusted to it to make changes in the structure of production/ [in italics].

--/The reserve fund, created out of part of the net profit, is intended to cover possible losses incurred by the enterprise. It should not exceed a specified sum in proportion to the value of sales. The reserve fund limit is specified by the Minister of Finance. Some of the unused reserve fund (in relation to the limit) may be paid into the workforce fund to encourage the workforce to put forth more effort to avoid losses by the enterprise/ [in italics].

--/The workforce fund, created from part of the net profits remaining in the enterprise, is intended for:

..social services, including culture, sports and other,

..construction of housing for the workforce,

..payment of workforce's share in profits achieved as a result of productive joint participation in managing the enterprise/ [in italics].

Function of plans and their coordination. The tool by which the country's (government), territorial self-government's and enterprises' social and economic activities are outlined and assisted are the long-range, 5-year and yearly plans, fully coordinated, making it possible to best satisfy current and future social and economic needs.

--The range of the coordination, as well as the data transmitted between various levels, must be appropriate to the specifics of the actions being coordinated.

This means that plans must be coordinated on two planes:

--plans to satisfy social needs on a national scale, prepared by the top level of government with the help of science and society, must be coordinated with plans to satisfy social needs on the local level, for two reasons:

a) different specific social needs occur in a given area,

b) they often must be satisfied by one or two enterprises in the country.

--plans on enterprise production tasks, prepared by them on the basis of information from the top level on types of social and economic needs and their scale, and also on the basis of market research and marketing, must be evaluated by government organs as to the degree to which they will ensure that needs are met.

--the local organs must do the same in relation to enterprises satisfying the needs of the area, as well as to enterprises servicing the entire country, but must assign specific responsibilities to local managers.

In the process of coordinating the plans, the organ managing the broad scope of the problems will have the decisive vote, and such a vote for the enterprise will be:

a) the position of the local authorities in cases affecting the area,

b) the position of the central authorities in cases affecting the entire country.

The position of the central authority is always binding on the local authority.

In each case certain elements of the process of coordinating and agreeing-upon the plans are subject to approvals.



--Systems for ensuring implementation of the coordinated plans:

- ..exertion of economic influence,
- ..a system of obligatory government and local-authority orders,
- ..the mandatory nature of the founding organ's recommendations.

Attempts should be made to use the first method, but if it is ineffective (e.g., prices are too high or the number of conditions stipulated by the enterprise is too great) or special circumstances occur (e.g., a natural disaster) the next two methods should be applied.

The spheres of influence of central and local founding organs on the activities of enterprises.

--Management organization and coordination of activities and management:

..planning organizational and production structures and influencing the organizing of enterprises of a single- or multi-plant works nature, whose means of production, mutually complementary, would give maximum economic results,

..coordinating long-range and 5-year plans, and where indispensable, yearly plans,

..appointing one's own representative, who is the director of the enterprise, working in cooperation with the workers' self-government.

--Technical requirements--specifying the current and future quality requirements of the products and their user properties to those enterprises in which technical advancement is seen as being too low. (Polish Committee for Standardization, Measures and Quality [PKNMIJ], Office of Materials Management [UGM], and State Science and Technology Committee [PKNT]).

--Production costs, factory prices and economic results:

..fixing prices of raw materials, other materials, and energy,

..specifying permissible basic wage rates and a system of creating a wage fund as an element of prime costs of production,

..a system of controlling prime costs of production,

..specifying permissible profit margins,

..tax policy, including amount of income tax and size of state's share in net profits,

..specifying amount of taxes on real estate, wages, and others,

- ..tax reductions for verified pro-efficiency and innovational activities,
- ..imposition of additional tax burdens where irregularities in management are ascertained,
- ..fixing of amounts of import and export tariffs,
- ..enterprises' credit policy (a bank function),
- ..specifying interest rates on enterprises' capital in bank accounts in zlotys and in foreign exchange (a bank function),

--Employment--controlling employment in areas where there is a large labor shortage by using economic measures, and in particular cases, administrative measures.

--Materials supply--proper distribution of raw scarce raw and other materials.

--Incentives for workforces:

- ..establishing minimum wage rates corresponding with the social minimum, maximum wage rates in specific employment groups taking into account degree of difficulty, responsibility and strenuousness of work, permissible size of bonus fund in relation to total basic wages, and other conditions in effect throughout the country,

- ..giving the workforce part of the net profits as a reward for thriftiness.

--Due to the state's control over an enterprise--making decisions and sanctions towards the director and workers' council when these organs are not managing the enterprise competently, and particularly if they are not conducting market research and marketing, are not implementing coordinated activity plans, are not making proper use of means of production, are not concerned about the fixed assets and their regeneration, are not working towards a reduction in production costs, are escalating prices, are not concerned about the quality of their products and an improvement in their user properties, and many of them, despite their specificity are not developing export, not producing spare parts and are not organizing an efficiently operating after-sales service.

The system motivating the enterprise to increase its production, efficiency and innovativeness must be constructed so that it will stimulate both the attainment of societywide benefits and benefits to the enterprise, which means to the workforce. Very strong pressure is applied on enterprises operating in the system of the market economy through:

- ..total market saturation,
- ..foreign and domestic competition,
- ..large differentiation in needs of customers and a high rate of change in these needs,

..the state's tax policy and rigorous control of incomes, thus also the prime costs of production,

..a gradual growth in costs of production.

In order to counteract these pressures, to survive and be able to develop in the future, enterprises strive for new technologies, organization, economies, start-up production of new products, increase their quantity and reduce costs and prices. Most of all, they raise the quality of products and improve their user properties, which is now the customers' main argument. This set of pressures does not act upon our enterprises, thus we must create a set which would force them to take actions similar to those applied in a market economy.

/There should be specified minimum amounts of production which the enterprise must achieve and maximum permissible factory sales prices on products, at an assumed permissible margin of profit. If the enterprise wants to achieve the maximum profit it must execute the production plan agreed upon with its superior organs and attempt to exceed this plan, and reduce prime costs at controlled prices/ [in italics].

At a later period, after needs are better satisfied, there will be specified a minimum amount of sales which the enterprise must achieve and the maximum permissible factory sales prices on products, at an assumed permissible margin of profit.

In this case, at limited prices, the assortment and quantity of production can be set so that it will correspond to social and economic needs and also bring maximum profits.

In both cases, production growth will bring about a reduction in unit prime costs of products, and thus a growth of profit, on condition that the quality and the user properties of the products are at the acceptable level.

These solutions can be applied if the following conditions are met:

..the government or local organs inspect the plan of tasks of specific enterprises and their execution, the system for coordinating and agreeing upon the plans, and the creation of incentives to execute these plans and exceed them,

..that influence be brought to bear on the shaping of factory prices, including by social groups, on the price-fixing system, and the reduction of prime costs.

--Exertion of influence on results of technical operations. The government organs must intervene when they see that the achievements in this area are unsatisfactory. The influencing "restrictions" should be technical standards on quality and user properties and energy-intensiveness.

The government organs which should specify these "restrictions" are the Polish Committee for Standardization, Measures and Quality, the State Science and Technology Committee, and the Office of Materials Management. Products which do not meet the conditions specified above will be reduced in price according to the opinions of these offices. The costs of warranty repairs will be charged to the enterprises, to their loss account, and not to production costs.

--The influence by control of employment. In certain cases "restrictions" may be applied in employment. This will mean the existence of still one more criterion of an optimal variant of action taken to satisfy needs and maximize profits.

--Compensation for efficiency-improvement actions. The basic condition for creating incentives for the workforce to apply innovational and efficiency-improving measures and to attain greater productivity is the ability to express recognition for good results in the form of greater material benefits and direct earnings, by paying out a share of the enterprise's profits. This must be money that has an immediate effect and is quickly paid out for housing construction, social activities, including culture and sports, and prizes to individuals. The proportions between the two portions of an employee's income, which are wages and profit-sharing, must be defined separately in each enterprise. The employees in each enterprise must become interested in all innovational and efficiency-improving measures which would reduce production costs and increase profits.

--Tax and credit policy. An appropriate tax and credit policy should intensify an enterprise's incentive to take measures to improve efficiency and promote innovations. When the principle of a division of profit between society and the workforce which participates in the management of an enterprise is accepted, this division should take place according to simple, generally understood, fair rules.

--The division of gross profits requires that the rules for determining the amount of income tax be defined in two stages:

..while the plans for financing the activities of the enterprise, including the values of sales, are being preparing, and also when the factory prices in the future operations period are being determined,

..at the time when the financial results of the enterprise, after the balance sheet for the end of the operations period, are known, together with an analysis of prime costs of production and unit costs of production of particular products.

In the first case the enterprise must know the permissible margin of profit which it can add to the initially calculated costs of production and what the division of profit margin into income tax and net profit will be in this calculation. Already then the state can implement its policy towards the enterprise and the products which it produces. For example: on products of which there is a shortage on the market, those meeting basic social needs, the percent of share of income tax in the planned (permissible) gross profit may be low. It may be higher in those cases where it is known that the enterprise has many ways in which it can reduce production costs. If it wishes to obtain the highest possible amount of money for the workforce profit-sharing fund, it will have to try to increase the net profits, and also the gross profits, by reducing production costs through, among other things, an increase in production.

/The norms for the division of planned gross profits may be established uniformly for all of the enterprise's products, and in some cases, for individual products.

After the operations period has ended and the balance sheet of costs of production and unit costs of production of products has been made, the income tax for that period is calculated on the gross profits which the enterprise earned/ [in italics].

As a result of thrifty management the actual profit may be higher than the planned profit. In this case the tax organs may grant the enterprise tax reductions which would serve as an incentive, provided that the profit was attained in a correct and documented way. The financial inspection organs must determine this, with the participation of independent technical experts who will give an opinion on the justifiability of the costs from the standpoint of technical problems (labor-intensiveness under given technological conditions, consumption of materials, energy and other costs of production, including general factory costs, degree of utilization of production capacity and others, depending on the specific nature of the production).

--Determining the income tax. The income tax, which is the income to the state treasury, should be calculated "linearly", i.e., proportionally to the attained gross profit. In effect, this means that an attempt is made to increase the entire gross profit, and thus to the same degree the income tax and the net profit, out of which, after the state's share is calculated, the rest remains in the enterprise as compensation for good work. The interests of the state and the enterprise, including its workforce, are the same. No progressive surtax should be applied. The limit at which the progression would be applied would also be the limit of the efforts of the workforce in its attempts at efficiency improvements and innovations. The state and society will achieve more through such procedures than through the use of any kind of ceilings. The ultimate size of the tax must be the consequence of individual examinations of the balance sheets of the enterprises, reductions applied, and possible additional charges.

--If during the inspection it is determined that the costs of productions were calculated too high, then a higher income tax is imposed on the enterprise, in relation to the size of the unsubstantiated profit.

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--Tax reductions as incentives to action. Where profits have increased due to good management, beneficial to society and to the economy, the income tax should be reduced, particularly for activities bringing about:

- ..a reduction in unit prime costs and factory prices,
- ..a growth in the amount of production, including for export,
- ..an increase in productivity,
- ..the startup of production of new products with better quality and user properties, particularly when the products have a "Q" quality rating,
- ..modernization or expansion of production capacity from the enterprises own funds.

Also, an enterprise may obtain tax relief during its start-up period.

--The division of net profits between the state and the enterprise is justified by the fact that the state-society gave the enterprise some public property, i.e., a part of the national income, but this property was not abandoned. This public property is supposed to bring an income to everyone. If the state were to use the capital invested in an enterprise in some other way, then it could obtain an income, if only that which would be the interest on the capital deposited in a bank.

The method by which the net profit is divided may be a specified percentage of the value of gross assets and the nonmaterial means invested in it by the state. This is also an incentive factor. If part of the net profits are to go to the state, then according to the enterprise's reasoning, this part should be as small as possible. This, on the other hand, can be achieved through economical investment and full utilization of fixed assets, that is, by increasing production and reducing its costs.

--A comment on the subject of credit policy. The way in which enterprises' activities are stimulated through credit policy is generally known. It should be noted, however, that those proposals are not fully accepted which do not take into account the planning factor in the policy of the development of the structures of the economy and its separate branches, and solve problems by announcing credit auctions. Those enterprises should have access to funds for investment which really need them, in accordance with the policy on the development of the economy (sectors). The creditors should know which enterprises are involved and also know the scope of the assistance they need and go to them themselves with the initiatives which express the implementation of the 5-year and long-range state plans for development to satisfy social and economic needs.

--The dependence on the results of technical activities on the efficiency of the operations of the financial apparatus. The imposition of taxes and the credit policy as instruments to stimulate the enterprise (and also its workforce) must be applied differently in relation to each enterprise. The fiscal and bank services must fulfill their tasks in the best possible manner because whether the technical and organizational progress made by the engineers and technicians is applied will depend decisively on their activities. Will technical advancement finally get underway? Will the enterprises need it? Certainly society needs it. It is essential, therefore, that the fiscal and bank-credit services be trained so as to improve their familiarity with the substantive problems of the enterprises.

The salary system as part of the incentive system. The salary system is one part of a broad system of private incentives. The salary system cannot be a "distribution" from the wage fund. It must create incentives to:

..increase production and services, including those for export, through better utilization of means of production, including fixed assets.

..take measures to increase labor productivity,

..improve the quality of products and services,

..systematically reduce the costs of production and services,

The above-mentioned tasks are extremely important now when we are coming out of the supply crisis. The incentive factors are: wages, working conditions, the work atmosphere, and the social attitude of the collective.

The factors emerging from people's minds are:

..an awareness of the importance and purpose of the work being done,

..a feeling of fulfillment of professional and social aspirations and the ability to exert an influence on the enterprise's operations, a perception that material aspirations are being fulfilled, an awareness that a higher standard of living can be achieved, and a sense of future materials security.

/All of the above factors affect the human mind in an interconnected way and are incentives to qualitatively good and productive work. That is why a thoroughly considered wage subsystem in an incentive system will be that one which consistently takes all of these interconnections into account. The wage subsystem must include problems relating to real earnings, and therefore there must be a connection with the price subsystem. That is why both of these subsystems must be combined in a subsystem of compensations for price changes. The same tie links the pension and annuity subsystem with the wage, prices and compensation subsystems/ [in italics].

At the present time the factors mentioned are not being used properly, and in most cases they act as inhibitors, which means that the work-incentive system in Poland is practically inoperative, except for the inexorable economic constraint. That is why it is extremely urgent that a new wage system be developed, in the light of the tidied-up price and price-fixing system and a system of compensation which includes the effects of other factors. We wish to emphasize that a new wage system will not solve any problems if it is not tied to measures of the quantity and quality of production, real wages, i.e., market prices. The newness of the wage system must lie in the right solution to the work-wage-market dependence.

Furthermore, it is essential that the management cadre be made aware of the important significance of incentive factors outside the system of wages.

--The function of the state in the area of private incentive and the main ways in which the incentive system, including prices, can be reformed.

In order to put the economy in order and prevent the growth of inflation, the state must, in defense of society's interests, control prices and costs, and thus influence those wages which are, among other things, a price for work.

Employee's earnings should be made up of two parts: wages for work and the workforce's share in the enterprise's profits. Wages should be made up of base pay, determined according to a uniform, throughout the country, scale for all jobs and working conditions, and a variable, individually unlimited bonus. It



will be limited by the size of the funds earned by the enterprises, within the boundaries, for example, of 20 to 50 percent in relation to the total of the base pay. Individual bonuses are given to employees dependent upon their input into their work, which is recognized as productive according to plant regulations on bonuses. Proper and high rewards for quality are extremely important.

/All wage systems require a return to honest standardization of work defining tasks qualitatively and quantitatively in a specified time/ [in italics].

Employees in management positions should be paid definitely more than others depending on the degree of responsibility. In accordance with the Council of Minister's Resolution on vocational specialization, specialization supplements should be paid.

Such solutions will not stop the enterprises from increasing production, starting up production of new products, often more labor-intensive. When attempts are made to reduce production costs, the tendency is to very thriftily allocate funds for the important component of production costs that wages are. Control factors must call attention to the correctness of applying basic wage scales and be able to enforce the post-control (inspection) suggestions.

The structure of earnings is very important. We believe that in relation to minimum wages, which fulfill the social minimum, assumed at 100 percent, earning should be on a level of up to 500 percent, depending on the job, its conditions, the quality of the work done, and personal qualifications, if the amount of the social minimum is to be realistic.

As part of the incentive system there must be a valorization of wages, annuities and pensions due to the increased cost of living. This should be done simultaneously with the development of the new wage system, in accordance with the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress. This will lower the pressure on wage increases and will eliminate the severe injustices which exist in this area. A total unwarranted delay is taking place on this matter.

/The tax on wages is paid by the enterprises. It is charged to the prime costs of production. The personal income tax is paid by the employee himself in the form of an equalization tax if the income exceeds a specified sum for that year/ [in italics].

--The role of prices and price-fixing. The inability by the enterprise to charge what it wants for its products is a basic "restriction", forcing it to seek ways to increase profits through efficiency improvements and innovations.

That is why the enterprises must give special attention to this incentive factor because the system now in effect for establishing prices was not and is not doing its job.

--Two levels of prices: factory and market. The two basic price levels should be differentiated:

..producer (factory price) and importer prices,



..prices at which the state wants to sell goods directly to their users or through a commercial network.

In the economic situation in which we will be for a long time yet, the price, at the producer level, fulfills the role of an incentive in relation to the enterprise. We must accept the most prudent and also the most honest, as regards both society and the enterprise, system for establishing this price, since it will be necessary for the producers to enforce the honesty and the integrity.

We must deal with the following realities:

..lack of competition,

..the state, in the opinion of many, is not able a priori to set factory prices for each producers (even on the same products),

..using so-called "world" prices in the area of processing makes for many difficulties in view of their changeability and often lack of similarity between products (quality, user characteristics, etc.).

We must finally make a decision, choosing the best solution under our conditions (or the lesser evil).

--Fixing prices on raw materials, other materials and some products, whose world prices are quoted on the exchanges, establishing prices according to average exchange quotations, converting by the official exchange rate of the zloty to the dollar and the ruble. We expect that the "luxury" of the stability of these prices over the longer term, to which we have become accustomed, will disappear. But after all, we have to use some market mechanisms, so let us be consistent. The price of domestic raw materials must include the cost of their obtainment and the rent for utilization of natural riches.

--Factory prices of products. Factory prices on all products processed from the above-mentioned raw and other materials will be based on actual prime costs of their manufacture and a permissible margin of profit. We most strongly stress the need to conduct, in all enterprises, a full accounting of prime costs of production and unit prime costs of products, both those calculated initially and the actual costs.

/Actual costs must exert an influence on the calculated costs (planned costs), and thus on the price of the products. The accounting of prime costs must be applied also to the cost of the individual parts of the product (components) and the individual workplaces appearing in the technological process/ [in italics].

Therefore, we must bring back a system of cost-calculation based on technical standards which specify the indispensable outlays of funds and human labor. The technological and organizational conditions in enterprises which manufacture even the same products (e.g., the food industry, or light industry), are often very much different. Thus the actual costs are and can be different. That is why the factory prices are also different. Standardization of factory prices

under these conditions leads to waste, and in particular, it cannot bring about efficiency-improvement measures where the difference between the fixed price, fixed at a high level, and the actual prime cost, is great. The present regulations permit such practice, to the detriment of the economy and society.

The proposed system which would have the enterprises determine the factory prices requires control on the part of the fiscal agents, with the participation of technical experts, who would be able to correctly evaluate the justifiability of the highest costs in a specific organizational and technological situation. We know that this is entirely possible. Factory prices of products, in relation to the already established and collected (by the enterprise) prices, should have a downward trend from year to year, on condition that there will be no basic changes in the prices of raw and other materials. This will be the result of the efficiency-improvement actions of the enterprise and the control of costs by the organs appointed for this purpose.

--Creating market prices during the first period of reform. As regards market prices (sales to direct users) we propose the following:

..that the state establish prices on the basic products which society must have (in our proposal these are food items, basic services, durable goods, housing construction), and in addition:

..raw materials, other materials, and energy,

..items procured from farmers.

The setting of prices on basic products which society uses and the procurement prices of farm articles can be done by two methods:

Method 1. The state establishes prices based on their planned structure, taking into account the relationship of prices between products and also workers' earnings. In this case the state may follow the example of the price structures occurring in one or several countries most approximate in socioeconomic level to Poland.

This method will cause differences in plus and in minus between factory prices and market prices. It must contain a strongly developed system for differentiating turnover tax collected in trade and supplements from the state treasury to trade, in order that it might purchase goods from producers.

Method 2. Market prices are based on factory prices to which commercial costs are added from the wholesale and retail network, specified precisely according to an accounting of prime costs, with a permissible margin of profit and turnover tax added. By this method, if costs are constantly controlled and pressure is applied to reduce them, the country will have its own price structure in several years. The use of this method does not prevent the possibility of state intervention in market prices.

/By differentiating the turnover tax added to the factory prices of particular producers at the time of "turnover" uniform prices can be obtained on the market, in conformity with the state's price policy. We are in favor of this method/[in italics].

At the same time as the first or second method is used, a method of competitive-free-market prices may be applied, but only on products whose supplies are adequate and uniform throughout the country. The government would publish successive lists of good on which prices could be established autonomously by their suppliers. This requires very penetrating observation of the areas of production and trade, so that if competition and supplies are inadequate, society not suffer any losses. At this point we must stress that statements about the impossibility of mastering prime-cost problems can only be the result of a lack of knowledge about the methods that were used generally in our country to the end of the 1950's and how the interests of society are protected in countries where a market mechanism is in full operation. There must be a familiarity with the entire, highly developed "infrastructure" of the apparatus which protects these interests.

The main role here is played by the financial services, assisted by technical experts, who very thoroughly study the sources of income of every enterprise and determine the amount of their taxes.

--Prices for means of production, machines and equipment, and certain products in turnovers between enterprises should be established on the basis of factory prices. We take the position that a turnover tax should not be added to these prices. We believe that we should not strive to make means of production more expensive. Their price, through amortization, affects the costs of their operation, and thus the cost of the products and goods consumed by society.

A reduction of these costs, in export also, is in the interest of a country struggling with inflation. When prices are lower, a better ratio of zloty to a dollar and a ruble will be obtained, which will strengthen the domestic money. Those who propose that this group of products be burdened with a turnover tax are probably thinking that this will reduce prime costs of production when a struggle is being conducted with a foreign producer who is dictating a competitive price. This is true. But export is only one part of domestic production.

The role of export. The more an enterprise exports the more it is part of the international network of producers with whom it has to compete through the user characteristics and quality of its products, its after-sales service, prices, payment terms and delivery schedules. By exporting effectively the enterprise obtains foreign exchange for the purchase of essential materials, components, licenses, patents, and other forms of technical ideas. Lack of export orders hurts the enterprise and its workforce. The enterprise itself must be responsible for export, for maintaining it at the level already attained and developing it further. The tendencies towards decentralized control of the national economy cannot ignore this area of it.

/We are in agreement as to the need for central disposal of part of the foreign exchange earned by the enterprise, with the remainder to be left to it

for production and development purposes. But let all of the enterprises press for export without the need to obtain licenses to conduct foreign-trade operations.

The 150 enterprises currently authorized to conduct foreign trade, of whom almost half are natural persons and the others are several dozen foreign-trade offices and companies, whose producer does not have a deciding vote, do not constitute a sufficient force for the struggle for export and its profitable effect on efficiency-improvement and innovational efforts in Polish industry.

The government should implement foreign trade policy by granting licenses for specific transactions. The possibility of establishing a special bank to finance export and import activity should be considered, a bank which would assist its shareholders in production activity which favors export and reduces import.

A law is needed to counteract monopolistic practices. A law is needed, as soon as possible, which would specify the condition under which enterprises could become affiliated and form various kinds of companies. The preliminary work for this law is going in the right direction, in our opinion. If we accept the rules which are similar to those used in the western countries, then we will have to verify the statutes of the associations and companies already organized and apply the new rules in the formulation of statutes for associations formed in the future.

/For example, the anti-cartel law in some western countries forbids enterprises to conclude agreements among themselves on questions of prices, amounts of production and regionalization of sales/[in italics].

The indispensable range of control in scientific, technical and organizational development.

--The role of technical and organizational progress. Scientific and technical advancement has a broad socioeconomic and political aspect. Society evaluates it primarily according to the important changes in the user characteristics of products and services and their quality.

..initiating production of new products which fulfill new functions for society and the economy,

..organizational efficiency of production processes and preparation, and investment processes,

..modernity of domestic technical infrastructure facilities and housing, social and industrial construction and other characteristic features,

..size of export, price reductions on products, buildings and facilities resulting from efficiency improvements and innovations.

This assessment, naturally, is made as of now. But the technical and organization progress seen today must be prepared much earlier.

--Although initiation and application of new technology is primarily the duty of the enterprises, in the interests of society the state must conduct a technical policy and implement it with the participation of the enterprises and all scientific-research facilities.

Science and technology is made up of many subjects and problems, solutions to which will bring benefits to both society and the enterprises. That is why central control over the broad range of scientific and developmental work is indispensable in order to obtain these benefits with the lowest possible outlay of manpower and money. Furthermore, international cooperation in these fields, mainly with the CEMA countries, requires the participation of central planning.

--To control scientific, technical and organizational development on the national scale, a supreme state organ should be established, under the working name of State Committee for Scientific-Technical Progress (PKPNT), along with its corresponding office. The PKPNT should be made up of the managers of the central offices dealing with scientific-technical activities, representatives of scientific, technical and professional organizations and communities, which will help to broaden the base of community support for control of these activities. The PKPNT and its office should function at the Council of Ministers and its chairman should be a member of the Government Presidium.

The PKPNT office should maintain strong ties with the public scientific-technical movement and the scientific organizations, which should ensure the desired broad social base for the activities of this state organ. This supreme state organ should be empowered to establish funds for the development of science and research in a suitable ratio to outlays for scientific and technical development.

--A National Scientific and Technical Council should be appointed in conjunction with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, as an advisory and consultative body for the government, which would include two or three distinguished specialists from all sectors of the national economy. This Council, whose membership should not exceed 50-60, should be composed of:

..distinguished scientists and engineers, appointed by name by the premier,

..representatives of the offices of scientific-research institutes,

..representatives of nationwide public institutions and organizations in the area of science and technology.

--Proposals dealing with legislation on scientific and technical development.

To ensure the indispensable, innovation-promoting function of economic-reform legislation, an analysis should be made, with the help of competent specialists, of all regulations issued to date, with a view to adapting them to a maximization of scientific, technical and organization development in enterprises, and preparing regulations that are lacking.

- a) The issuance of permanent, in place of temporary, regulations on scientific, technical and organizational activities should be accelerated;
- b) The issuance of a law on scientific-research institutes should be accelerated. The provisions of this law should also be useful in guiding the activities and development of central laboratories, research and development centers, experimental plants, central design bureaus, etc.;
- c) To facilitate the efficient functioning of SNT (Scientific-Technical Association), the appropriate legal regulations should be issued which would ensure the rights of the SNT Factory Clubs in initiating and expressing opinions on all of the actions relating to scientific, technical and organizational development in their enterprises. The SNT Main Board should have similar rights as regards the ministerial offices, and the authorities of the NOT Federation as regards the PKPNT Office and Planning Commission in the Council of Ministers;
- d) New regulations must be written pertaining to the obtainment of scientific degrees and titles--in which the basic criteria will relate to scientific and engineering creativity;
- e) The issuance of a law protecting the titles, functions and rights of technicians should be accelerated;
- f) The law on workers' inventions should be adapted to current conditions created by economic reform;
- g) A law should be written on support of creators (originators) in all fields of activities.

Position on scope and forms of additional financing for scientific, technical and organizational development. In order to assure the necessary continuity of research, development and applications work, it is essential that stable methods and forms of financing scientific-technical activity be developed and instituted. The state, through its applicable organs, should finance:

- a) directly and in their entirety (comprehensively) selected problems of decisive importance for the activization and harmonization of the entire national economy;
- b) through subsidies and credits such tasks (undertaken by enterprises or groupings) that are extremely important to society and the economy and are also very capital-intensive and entail a large amount of risk and difficulty. The financial support should also be on the basis of competition for the funds received;
- c) through subsidies, activities which support scientific, technical and organizational progress (overall-technical);
- d) development of scientific research and establishment of good conditions for science, to the extent that total funds for scientific, technical and organizational development permit.

The state should have at its disposal for scientific, technical and organizational development:

--budgetary funds, best in the form of a Research Fund (Scientific Research Fund) which should be spent for development of scientific research and establishment of good conditions for science,

--a Central Technical Development Fund (now the Central Fund for Technical and Economic Progress), established from enterprises' deductions.

During the initial period of accumulating funds within the framework of the Plant Fund for Technical Development, when the enterprises do not yet have sufficient funds, special stress should be laid on receipt of more financial aid from the state.

The enterprise should finance:

a) tasks which bring about improvements and greater economy in current production and techniques and organization of manufacture;

b) preparation of new products and start-up of their production;

c) tasks for the needs of the enterprise, relating to scientific, technical and organizational development, commissioned outside. The expenditures listed in a, b and c should be charged to the Plant Fund for Technical Progress and the Development Fund, and also to bank credits;

d) in addition, enterprises should make payments into the Central Fund for Technical Progress according to norms established by budgetary laws.

/The enterprise's Technical Progress fund should also be used to finance such expenditures as the development of workers' inventiveness, prizes for originators of scientific, technical and organizational progress, and allowances for grade 1 and 2 specialists/[in italics].

In order to make technical and organizational development in enterprises a real possibility, the amounts of deductions for the Development Fund and the Plant Fund for Technical Progress should be differentiated and made dependent on the innovational time-period of the products being manufactured and the indispensable costs of modernization or preparation and start-up of production of the new products. The state authorities should fix the size of the deductions for the Central Fund for Technical Progress. The deductions for the Plant Fund for Technical Progress, however, should be fixed by the management of the enterprise on the basis of the general regulations governing the principles of the establishment of this fund.

9295

CSO: 2600/910

## PZPR CONFERENCE DELEGATES CHARACTERIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by ap: "Delegates"]

[Text] In a number of previous articles we defined the statutory principle of the delegates' mandate to party conferences at all levels, which also explained the additional circumstances that made comrades chosen for the Ninth Extraordinary Congress also delegates to the National Conference. Of the 1964 delegates recognized by the Congress Mandate Commission, more than 120 were rejected for various reasons.

Delegates to this National Conference are representing 2,185,654 members and candidates for party membership (this according to the tally of 31 December 1983). For comparison, following a decline in party membership beginning in July-August of 1980, the total represented was 2,935,700.

This is the first year of congress representation for 91 percent of the current delegates. In Zielona Gora, Kalisz, Przemyśl, Toruń and Włocławek not one of the delegates had been formerly chosen. Three comrades have been appointed to all eight party conferences. The total breakdown is as follows: 5 comrades to the first conference, 9 to the second, 13 to the third, 24 to the fourth, 40 to the fifth, 56 to the sixth, 60 to the seventh and 101 to the eighth.

The number of mandates apportioned to each province is governed by the size of the party organization at the time preceding the Ninth Congress. Three of the largest delegations were chosen by the provinces of Katowice (233), Warsaw (125) and Łódź (79). Although the first two organizations retained their positions as the country's largest, Łódź with 81,000 members (as of 31 December 1983) was edged out of third place by Poznań with 91,000 members, allotting them 79 delegates. The Chełm organization had the fewest number of delegates (12), since at the time of the head count it had the smallest number of members. At this time, however, that distinction belongs to the Białopodlaska organization (13,700 members) which has one delegate more.



More than 50 mandates have been acquired by the party organizations of Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Kielce, Krakow, Opole and Wroclaw, and less than 20 by Lomza, Ostroleka, Przemysl, Suwalki and Zamosc.

In the Mandate Commission's report presented during the first day of the conference by Gen Wojciech Baranski, chief of staff of the Central Administration of Polish Army Combat Training, in his capacity as delegate from Kozalin Province, it was shown that the sociovocational composition of the delegate body was 22.3 percent workers, 9.2 percent private farmers and agricultural producer cooperative members, and 66.7 percent working intellectuals. In the last group there were 136 directors, 164 representatives of the middle-level administrative cadres, 63 engineers and technicians, 148 educators (44 of these at the university level) and 50 doctors of medicine.

There are too many occupations to enumerate all of them in as general a report as this. We can, therefore, complete it with several interesting or even surprising bits of information. For example, 10 of the provinces mandates were given to gmina managers. The Bialystok, Ciechanow and Koszalin organizations each entrusted a mandate to a veterinarian. Surprising was the representation of no less than 10 foresters, with 3 of them being selected by the Olsztyn organization and 2 by Piotrkow. Nine organizations gave one mandate each to PKS [Polish Motor Transport] directors, three gave mandates to actors (Bydgoszcz, Gdansk and Krakow), two to private tradesman (Krakow and Siedlce). The Leszno organization appointed a private truck-gardner and a miller, Plock a fireman and Zamosc a lawyer. It is surprising that only four genuine seamen, that is, actual seafarers, were present among the delegates (three from Gdansk and one from Szczecin). There are fewer farm laborers appointed than there are State Farm directors, farm managers and agricultural specialists--a mere 11 were selected in 7 provinces (in this, 3 from Bydgoszcz and 2 from both Elblag and Gorzow).

Taking into consideration the rapid vocational turnover generally experienced in today's society and also having only sketchy information concerning the delegates, it can be safely said that many of them have been subjected to reclassifications and transfers in the last 2 and 1/2 years. Many of these undoubtedly would be promotions, particularly within the industrial workers group. Many of the delegates also were appointed to fill party positions.

Professional soldiers were given mandates by 29 provincial organizations (this in addition to delegates selected from the regular army), with three apiece from Katowice and Lublin and two each from Bialystok, Gdansk, Pila, Plock, Wloclawck and Zamosc. There are large contingents of officials from the WOP [Frontier Guard] and MO [Civil Militia] present among the military personnel appointed by 19 civilian organizations (including 4 from Warsaw, and 2 each from Katowice, Lodz, Opole and Poznan).

A total of 207 councilmen were elected nationwide to councils at the basic level and 72 at the provincial level. Three provincial organizations, namely Bialystok, Legnica and Tarnow, did not mandate a single councilman to the GRN [Gmina People's Council] or MRN [City People's Council]; however, they did elect 14 to the WRN [Provincial People's Council]. With this as a

background, the Zamosc delegation's composition presents a striking contrast. Among the 19 delegates we find 12 councilmen (5 to WRN and 7 to groups at the basic level). There were 32 representatives elected as delegates to the Sejm and also 17 village administrators (including 1 from Warsaw Province).

One group of delegates has certainly expanded. In July of 1981 there were only 10 pensioners and retirees among the delegates (1 each from 17 provinces and 2 from Leszno). There were, however, many representatives barely on the brink of productive age: 544 were over 50 years old--in many cases "well over." Following is a breakdown of the remaining age groups: 38 delegates below the age of 29, 593 in the 29-39 age group, and 784 in the 39-49 age group. Time spares no one. The average continues to rise automatically. Maybe this is why we should mention that among the delegates we found three representatives born in 1954. One is a miner from the Ziemowit Hard Coal Mine in Tychy, a party member since 1976, and we also found two farmers, one from the village of Lisewo in Konin Province and the other from the village of Marcinowo in Szczecin Province, all three of them being participants in special instructional training since 1976. Unfortunately, this year they will also no longer remain in the "20-year-old" classification.

The congress was attended by 568 assigned delegates and secretaries from branch and basic party organizations and plant committees, with an additional 1036 members of city, city district, city-gmina and gmina echelons, 918 members of the provincial and 79 of the party central authorities. The last figure obviously refers to the term in office preceding the congress. For the current term in office of the Central Committee members, their alternates, and members of the Central Audit Commission and Central Party Control Commission, a total of 421 were elected.

Delegates for the Ninth Congress are meeting in Warsaw to decide what actions have to be undertaken by the party to bring their determinations to fruition. The party, in the reflective atmosphere of the National Conference, examines itself as in a mirror, analyzes its hopes, anxieties and aspirations, as was the case in July 1981 when the party rediscovered itself with the help of the activities and decisions which transpired in the course of the Extraordinary Congress.

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CSO: 2600/862

PARTY DAILY INTRODUCES PZPR CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Anna Pawlowska: "That Which Is Confronting Us"]

[Text] Closing the deliberations of the 15th Plenum, First Secretary of the Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski defined the goal of the National Conference of Delegates at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR thus: "An awareness of attainments and achievements as well as of unused reserves and unsurmounted weaknesses mobilizes and arms us, safeguards us from routine, and stimulates more effective activities." The delegates convened in Warsaw are to elaborate such an assessment, such a diagnosis of the current state of implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Congress--for more effective activities.

In the last few years two waves of considerations regarding recent times have swept through the party. They absorbed a great deal of effort, energy, and thought, sometimes simply not leaving any of these for undertaking anything else. Nevertheless, they were necessary. The first wave, which addressed the period preceding August, was a stock-taking, painful but fruitful, and when all is said and done, a zealous search for guarantees and mechanisms that would safeguard us from repeating errors. It lasted for a long time, perhaps too long, not without the complicity of a political opponent whom it suited to have the party engaged in scratching its own wounds and hunting out culprits. There were moments when it seemed that it would never end, that we could not break out of a magic circle of impotence.

The second wave came several months after the introduction of martial law, converged with the reports campaign, and addressed the period preceding December. It generated, above all, difficult questions about the source of the party's weakness and the strength of the opponent's influence on society. Though it was useful in its general consideration of the significance of the party's ties with the masses, it also carried certain threats. It carried the dangerous threat of political superficiality, of acknowledging that martial law essentially undid everything.

Both of these waves have already receded, though some of their spray occasionally still appears. One is most fully aware of the fact that both the pre-August and the pre-December periods cannot be repeated. The attention, thoughts, and energy of the party--of its organization, its echelons, its aktiv--are turning

in the direction of the future, both the immediate future and, which is also tremendously important, the more distant future which engages the imagination and gives more ample breathing space. One may suppose that the lasting nature of the National Conference of Delegates will provide this shift.

It sets the party a natural horizon: the Tenth Congress. True, this horizon is not lacking in clouds. A very large number of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, in order to be realized, demand a tremendous amount of work, in accordance with altered conditions and circumstances. There remains, however, the tested compass of the line of socialist renewal, a line of agreement, conflict, and reforms.

Each of the elements of this line--agreement, conflict, and reforms--must be viewed now against the background of the new time horizon. In the months and years to come, agreement with whom, in what form, and at what price? Conflict with whom, and what, with what weapons, and in what areas? Which of the undertaken reforms merely need to be continued, and which also need to be corrected, how do they pass the test of life, how does the public perceive them and why does it perceive them precisely that way? There is no doubt that these are crucial questions addressed by the party to the National Conference of Delegates.

The chief point of national agreement is the need to enlist a broad social segment to participate in overcoming the crisis, to push the national cart uphill--nowadays a laborious, slow task, not always crowned with success.

Our political opponent has by no means capitulated; he tries to sting us from the underground; he has at his disposal Polish language broadcasting in the West; he is building his legend through its services. Currently he is casting all his domestic and foreign powers against the approaching elections to the people's councils. This will be a real battle, not of programs or candidates, but a battle between the desire to support Poland and the refusal to do so. Besides, we have an opponent not only in organized antisocialist political powers, but also in antisocialist outgrowths of evil and injustice, waste and lack of discipline, in loosened economic mechanisms, which allow part of the national assets to be appropriated without any work.

All reforms announced by the Ninth Congress attained the legislative form over the creation of which the Sejm worked to intensively. The statutes themselves, however, do not automatically change anything in public life. People must first endow them with substance by a readiness to participate.

The party worked out an internally cohesive line of agreement, conflict, and reforms in accordance with a constructively conceived doctrine of socialism, in accordance with objective conditions and possibilities. The accomplishment of this line is dependent to a crucial extent on the conditions of the party itself, on its ideological and class unequivocalness, on its organizational efficiency, on the authenticity of its ties with the working class and with all of society, and also on the boldness with which it looks to the future.

The line of agreement, conflict, and reforms, however, is not exclusively the party's concern; it is not its internal affair. It is an offer of an idea for Poles and Poland, a Poland which is a member of the socialist community, which has the surety of its independence in alliances and is regaining again its prestige in the world through its foreign policy, stabilization of life, and the restoration of efficiency to its economy. The National Conference of Delegates is not a closed party session taking place in isolation from society, beyond the reach of its interest. It is true that not all eyes today are turned with trust and good hope to the hall of the conference proceedings. That gaze, however, is ever watchful. People in Poland know, in spite of the repeatedly very credible sham, that the voice in affairs which are truly important for the country resounds not from the radio microphone of Western Europe, not from politicized pulpits. For 40 years it has been coming from the party rostrums. Those who do not like this at all and would very much like to change it, without regard for the price, also thoroughly know this.

Precisely such a public awareness, above all one that is underpinned, if not yet by universal trust, then at least by mutual understanding and expectations, is a measure of the responsibility of our delegates, a measure of the significance of the National Conference.

12584

CSO: 2600/867

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH CENTER ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Feb 84 p 3

[Interview with the director of the Public Opinion Research Center, Col Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, by Alicja Matynia-Bonik]

[Text] [Question] You are directing a new public opinion research center which has been operating for only 1 year. As you know, you do not have a monopoly in the country. Therefore, what is the center concerned with?

[Answer] We do not belong to any monopoly, and such comparisons should not be made, because this is an unprecedented institution for a number of reasons. It is only necessary to look at the organizational table. You can see that we collect opinions in every possible way. We want to be a source of information for both government and society. Traditional sociological research is performed by teams for immediate and for long-term investigations. There are also special research teams, a whole hierarchy of various analyses, something like an Opinion Science Workshop.

[Question] And what is this workshop concerned with?

[Answer] It operates publicly, and incorporates scientists and journalists representing not only different fields of science and interests, but also different outlooks on life. The Opinion Science Workshop takes on investigations in the intelligentsia community on subjects particularly important for the government and for society.

[Question] For example?

[Answer] Currently the team programming the workshop work is preparing an inquiry addressed to the opinion-forming circles, the subject of which is "Civilization Prospects in Socialist Poland."

[Question] Why precisely this subject?

[Answer] We are involved in the collection of ideas and suggestions which may be useful in operations formulating the program of socialist changes and a vision of the development of Poland. At the end of the 14th Plenum, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke on the need to solve problems of a strategic and

long-term nature. They can affect the fate of the nation for decades on end. So far the voice of our intellectuals has been faint in matters which have a really decisive bearing on the nation. We have treated this statement as an appeal. We intend to turn to about 12 scientists, political and cultural activists, inventors and journalists who, with this inquiry, can tell us what they think about this subject and how they view the trends and methods of socialist modifications, the just association of the needs and aspirations of the people with real possibilities, and the interdependence of structural and civilized changes.

After getting all of the opinions, we shall organize a "think tank," or a joint discussion of those responding to this subject. The fact is that the possibility and significance of an exchange of thought, an intellectual confrontation, is not sufficiently appreciated.

[Question] Does this mean that the center is making such attempts?

[Answer] Yes, in a certain sense. Last autumn we organized in Jadwisin a meeting of those answering our inquiry on socialism in Poland. This was the second stage of the research and, at the same time, a kind of way to apply it to collective thought on trends in socialist changes, to putting an end to mistrust, and to a willingness to exchange opinions openly. The discussion was also to facilitate a confrontation between various reasons and arguments.

[Question] Did it succeed?

[Answer] Yes. Some 48 scientists and journalists from the Warsaw, Katowice, Krakow, Wroclaw and Poznan areas took part in it. Among them were members of the PZPR, SD, PAZ and PZKS [Polish Catholic Social Union], and nonparty people, including two advisors of the former NSSZ Solidarity administration. The discussion was very interesting, lively and free of boredom. There were presentations and disputes in an atmosphere free of restraint, and there were immediate reactions attempting to grasp and express what was essential. As a result the attempt to achieve a real "think tank" was successful.

[Question] How did the participants evaluate the meeting?

[Answer] They primarily called attention to the fact that it "opened an intrasociety dialogue." Some emphasized the effectiveness of this type of undertaking in breaking down barriers of aversion to government institutions. One of the participants, a representative of the technical sciences and a world-renowned scientist, characterized the meeting in the following way: "I must say that coming here demanded courage, because there was so much doubt about the possibility of presenting the truth and going from this truth to its proper objective." In addition, the organization of the talks was pleasing. We are still being praised today for this undertaking, although naturally not by everyone.

[Question] The very choice of the participants must have produced disputes and controversy in the discussion.



[Answer] Obviously there were theoretical and practical and political controversies. There were methodological quarrels. However, the line of division did not run so much between various trends in general opinion, or between party and nonparty lines, but between two basic trains of thought appearing during the discussion: Marxist-Leninism and those espousing the social democratic tradition. Participants with a Catholic orientation supported one train or the other, as a function of the concrete solutions or problems. It is interesting to note that the groups opposed on general principles and on politics took a similar position with respect to a national understanding, the leading role of the PZPR and its program for the future.

However, convictions about the need to continue an exchange of thoughts, ideas and conquering mistrust and hostility dominated the disputes.

[Question] Would it be possible to point out some problems on which attention was particularly focussed?

[Answer] There were a number of them. Among others was the idea of understanding. The participants sought an answer to the question of what to do in order to reduce the mistrust which exists. One of the participants, an SD worker, stressed: "Necessary today in Poland is an enormous public mobilization. This is not a matter of us marching under banners, but of making efforts in various fields. Individual and organized work is necessary to rehabilitate the economy, to restore social bonds, to revive socialism.... But this is not possible by means of slogans and exhortation. Among other institutions, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] can help with this mobilization."

However, not everyone shared this opinion. PRON was also criticized, but no alternatives were proposed. No one came up with a nationwide vision of "mutual love." Realities were observed, and they talked of an understanding in the name of a common problem. They postulated the formation of a wide bloc of leftist forces supporting the government. They considered the possibility of expanding the public base of government, including the development of PRON.

Another important subject which this "think tank" evoked was a prospective program for Poland, a program which would point out clear future prospects to the public. They proposed that it be subjected to nationwide discussion. Broad participation of society in its preparation would assure its authenticity in one sense, and at the same time would give instruction in civic ideas. After all, the fate of Poland is a matter of concern to every citizen. No one can shirk this responsibility.

The forms and methods of planning were also criticized. The need for broader public input in planning was pointed out. The cadre policy used in our country was also adopted in various ways. One of the political scientists generalized the comments expressed. He said: "Our tragedy is the fact that the party answers, but the people do not answer. Only when a specific citizen speaks out on definite matters and affairs may we speak about some settlement. Unfortunately, it looks different to us."



Many of the notions expressed were of a controversial and disputable nature. However, a recognition of the need to continue exchanging thoughts, conversing, and thus surmounting reciprocal mistrust dominated everything.

[Question] The discussion you have mentioned was to some extent the result of collecting opinions about socialism in Poland in the form of an open inquiry. In your opinion, did the opinions expressed in it enrich our knowledge of this subject?

[Answer] I think so. We received answers from half of the authors asked, and from most of the scientists and journalists. They were professors, retired people and young people, and even a student. The extent of the answers differed from one page to dozens. The inquiry contained a number of questions with a request for an opinion on the subject of the current form of socialism in Poland and its future, the universal features of socialism and the specific nature of the Polish transitional period from capitalism to socialism, and Polish crises and remedies. We were not only concerned with probing this subject, but also in evoking a collective idea of the shape of social progress and an answer to the question of the route of progress.

As in the past, meaning the beginnings of the Polish labor movement, positions respecting socialism obviously differ today. Of the respondents, we can single out those who begin with the assumption that theory is one thing while practice in each country is different, since the concrete conditions are different. Every society approaches this same socialism by a different route. I also identify myself with this group. In turn a second group, openly or indirectly rejecting distinctive Polish features and concrete historical conditions, forms a rigid pattern from the model assumptions, once for all and for everyone. A third group, in the name of national differences and specific Polish conditions, would deviate from ideological assumptions and is ready to go along with changes and expediently accept everyday conditions.

In analyzing the causes of Polish adversity, the respondents saw it mainly in terms of faulty practice and lack of adaptation of theory to changes occurring in the development of social means of production. None of the answers identified the crisis in Poland with the general crisis of Marxism.

On the other hand, two different positions were outlined. The first finds the causes of Polish crises in the subjective sphere based on the conviction that misfortunes have resulted from errors in party and state leadership and were the result of deviation from socialist principles in public practice.

The second viewpoint is characterized by a search for deeper causes in the area of objective conditioning. Those who think in this way start with the assumption that the world in which we live is one whole despite all of its diversity. They see the Polish crisis as an element in a worldwide crisis, a crisis of civilization, the latter being subject to commercialization on the one hand and to bureaucratization on the other. The socialist states are bound up with the capitalist world, and this has multiple internal and external consequences.

[Question] I think that the public is more interested, and certainly we are more concerned with, an evaluation of the current state. Were diagnoses for today also brought up?

[Answer] Naturally. This was the main point. Evaluations of the current situation in the country fluctuate from temperate optimism to pessimism. For the most part this depends on an appraisal of the party in the mind of the writer. The dominant conviction was one of difficulties typical of the transitional period in which we are continuously embroiled. The reasonable optimism results from the assumption that the situation in the party has been relatively stabilized. Skeptical evaluations are concerned with the major concentration of attention on problems outside of the party.

Symptomatic among all those who answered is a perception and a simultaneous proposal for a way out of the trouble. Many answers stressed conviction about the causative power of the party-state leadership, on which they base their expectations and hopes.

Everyone agreed that there is no simple prescription for healing Poland, although resolute action is necessary. They emphasized that only comprehensive solutions can be effective over the long run. Among the necessary conditions on which most depends, they first mentioned the alliance between the USSR and the leading role of the PZPR in the Polish political system. Second, they mentioned recognition of public needs, obvious association between goals and activities in the interests of the working people. In third place they put social justice, liquidation of all kinds of privilege and an atmosphere of democratic search for optimal solutions. All of those responding pointed out difficulties in the path of economic reform and proposed emergency measures to improve the reform mechanisms and the national economic control system. They wrote quite broadly and in detail in favor of education, culture and training, seeing in this the hope for being equal to the new times.

In many cases the conclusions formulated and the solutions suggested were different or even contradictory. However, it is worth noting that people think differently about these matters and that it is necessary to understand those who think differently and to win them over to our side.

[Interviewer] The investigation conducted by you clearly leads to this.

6806

CSO: 2600/713

AIR DEFENSE PROBLEMS, MEASURES DISCUSSED

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 2, Feb 84 pp 10-12

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Jerzy Czeczotka: "Antiaircraft Defense of National Air Defense Forces Subunit Position"]

[Text] It follows so far from the views on the tactics of using the air force and other means of air strikes [MAS] that they will try to destroy or neutralize the means of air defense in order to create conditions for striking the targets which are being defended.

Because of their ability to strike the MAS constantly and effectively, and because of their role in the national air defense system, the tactical-fire subunits of the National Air Defense Forces [WOPK] are targets against which a considerable percentage of the potential enemy's air force will be directed. However, the main mission of the air force will be to destroy the target covered by the WOPK unit. Being aware of this should have a considerable impact on the evaluation of problems of the antiaircraft defense of the WOPK subunit.

The tactical grouping of a WOPK subunit at the fire position [FP] will be for the MAS a punctual target making up a group of single targets of a small size (radar stations, antiaircraft rocket launchers, means of transportation). The enemy tactical air force can attack the target either one at a time, with single aircrafts, or simultaneously, with a group (pair, V formation) of aircrafts, from a level flight or dive. The way of attacking will depend largely on how accurate the reconnaissance of the FP of the WOPK subunit was, and on the way the individual attacking aircrafts are equipped. The attack from a level flight is possible at any altitude, using various means (guided and unguided bombs, bombs in the form of a tank filled with an incendiary mixture, and air-to-ground guided missiles). The dive bombing, carried out most of the time by means of a "vertical climb," allows the attacking aircrafts to hit more accurately, and, usually, to reach the [borderline] positions of the "vertical climb" at low altitudes.

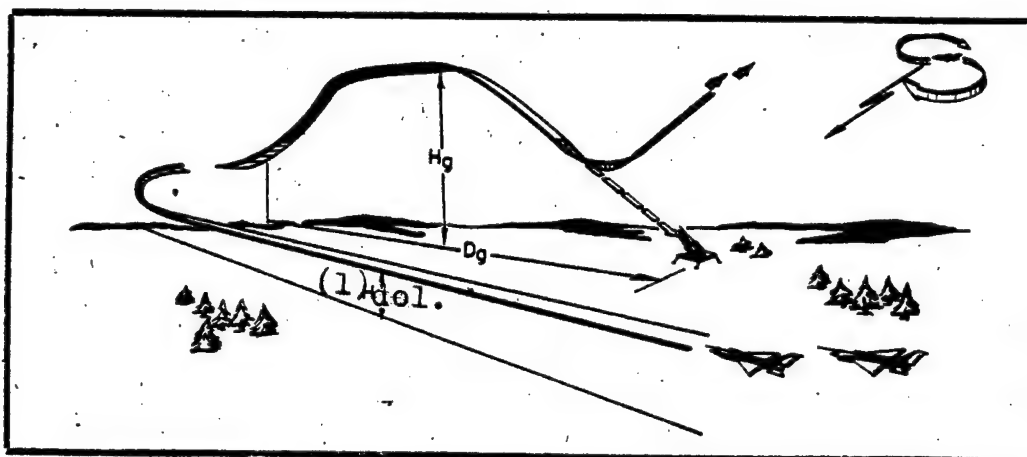


Fig. 1. Air attack on WOPK subunit by means of "vertical climb" (example)

Key: (1)  $H_{low}$

The parameters of the maneuver, indicated in Fig. 1, can have, most often, the following values:  $H_{low}$  30-300m,  $D_g$  3-8km,  $H_g$  1500-3000m.

When examining possible effects of the MAS attack on the FP of a WOPK subunit, it is necessary to stress that each of the elements of the tactical grouping has a different vulnerability to the means of air strike. The engineering structure of the FP, highly limiting the range of striking factors, is quite important. Because it is impossible to hide them, the following elements (of high vulnerability) will be the most vulnerable: RLS antenna cabins (columns), power network, means of communication, launchers with antiaircraft missiles. The dispersion of the tactical grouping of a WOPK subunit is limited by technological characteristics of the equipment and by technological requirements.

When analyzing the conditions for attacking the FP of a WOPK subunit by the MAS (using also conventional weapons) from the point of view of the organization of the air defense, it seems illustrative to examine the dive attack from a "vertical climb" performed in advance. It allows the attacking aircrafts to approach positions for the "vertical climb" secretly and then to use all the artillery and rifle weapons.

The distance between the points of increasing the altitude ( $D_g$ ), and the altitude itself ( $H_g$ ) depend on the accuracy of an earlier reconnaissance of the FP of the WOPK subunit but they are usually within the fire range of a short-range WOPK subunit, [and] within the minimum target destroying range of a medium-range WOPK subunit. The borderlines of the attack can also happen in the "dead zone" delimited by the minimum target-destroying range of the WOPK subunit. In such cases, it is important to secure the fire from other active means of air defense, such as artillery and short-range antiaircraft missiles.

The system of mutual antiaircraft protection by neighbors, existing within the WOPK unit, will be more effective with regard to aircraft attacking from a more distant position, [and] using mainly guided missiles and homing anti-radar missiles, WOPK subunits will repel, first of all, the MAS attacking the defended target. In this situation, the deployment of artillery means of air defense and short-range antiaircraft missiles should affect the attacking aircrafts at the positions of their preparation for the attack (preparing and performing the "vertical climb") as well as during the attack itself. This makes probable the destruction of the attacking aircraft, at the same time

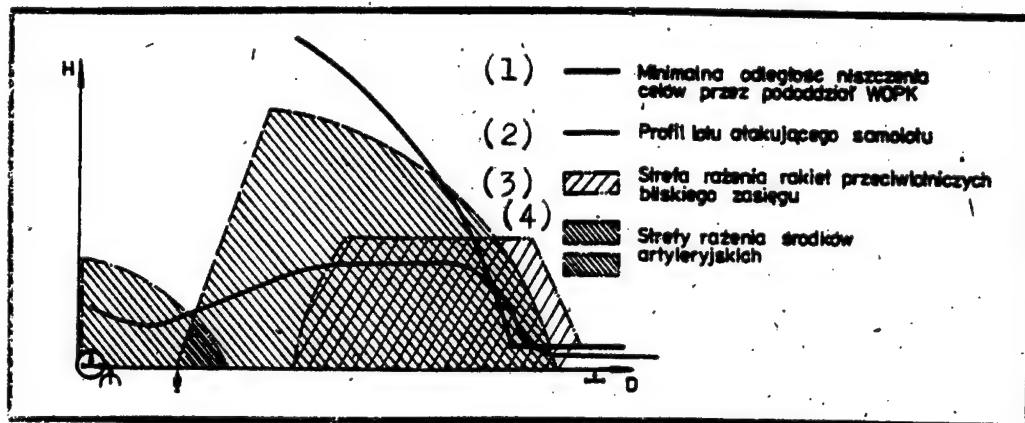


Fig. 2. Example of deployment of air defense means

- Key: (1) Minimum target-destruction range of WOPK subunit  
 (2) Flight profile of the attacking aircraft  
 (3) Strike range of short-range antiaircraft missiles  
 (4) Artillery range

affecting its crew psychologically (decrease in the accuracy of practice, length of the attack and its effectiveness). It seems, therefore, most advisable to deploy short-range antiaircraft missiles on advanced lines: this will allow the most effective use of their strike zones at the stage of the preparation for the attack by the aircrafts. It is also desirable to deploy short- and medium-range artillery weapons in front of or at the FP (Fig.2). The number of these weapons should depend on the place of the WOPK subunit in the unit system and, consequently, on its vulnerability. A more detailed analysis of this matter has a sense only for specific FP's, and should take into consideration field and equipment capabilities, against the model of a possible threat from the MAS.

12471  
 CSO: 2600/872

PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS DESCRIBED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 14, 4 Apr 84 pp 3,4

[Article by Stanislaw Cieniawa: "That Which Is Intimate"]

[Text] The substance and symbols of the religion of our fathers are a part of our national tradition and culture, for many of us they bring back memories of childhood, and for this reason, at least, they deserve respect. At the present time they are being profaned, and--strangely enough--most often at that by those who ostentatiously manifest their religiosity.

Radio Free Europe has been rousing Polish Catholics to battle for crosses to remain hanging--next to the White Eagle--in all schools, hospitals and other buildings for public use.

If God existed, who would give him greater honor: he who loudly utters his name and declares his faith in him, but denies this faith through his life, or he who does not utter his name and does not declare his faith, but just on account of the most slender possibility of his existence lives as if God, knowing us through and through and meting out reward and punishment, really existed?

It is obvious that the first one would constantly offend God (offenses against the second and the seventh of the Ten Commandments, and against the evangelical order for the perfection of life), and only the second would give him honor. "In the Gospels," writes Karol Wojtyla, "the order for perfection resounds the loudest: Be perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect (Matt. 5, 48). Not just one loose command, but an entire well-ordered program for man's perfecting himself is clearly contained in it" (K. Wojtyla, "Elementarz etyczny" [Ethical Primer], Wroclaw, 1982, p. 80).

The order to treat religion as a personal, intimate matter is also very strongly emphasized in the Gospels: "Be careful not to make a show of your religion before men; if you do, no award awaits you in your Father's house in heaven... And when you pray, do not be like the hypocrites; they love to say their prayers standing up in the synagogue and at the street corners, for everyone to see them. I tell you this: they have their reward already. But when you pray, go into a room by yourself, shut the door, and pray to your Father who is there in the secret place; and your Father who sees what is secret will reward you" (Matt. 6, 1-8).

We have thus two clear commands: the command of intimacy in prayer and the command of perfection in life. Unfortunately, we all know that neither of them is obeyed. It is a waste even to talk about perfection in the life of the body of religious people in Poland. The bulk of Polish society, after all, is religious, but statistics inform us that we lead in the consumption of alcohol and the smoking of tobacco, that we are in this regard in the disgraceful forefront of the world; the situation is not the best in work output and civic honesty, either. Devastation and dirt in places of public use frequently arouse horror. And the culture of daily life, the way of expressing oneself--well, let us put it mildly--are far from ideal. So we must state that religion has a very small influence on raising the morality and culture of our society; on the other hand this society displays a particular fondness for theatrical religious services and celebrations, religious songs and prayers. In a word, everything is totally different from what the Gospels command.

### What Intimacy Is

If we examine more closely, then we realize that both of the evangelical commands--intimacy of religion and perfection of life--are connected with each other, and therefore their violation is also connected. Intimacy (Greek *en thymos*, Latin *intymus*--inherent to the mind, the most inward, exclusively personal) is the non-transferable right of every unity conscious of itself: a nation, or in other words a government, has its intimacy (state secrets), as do a work establishment (business secrets), a social group ("washing dirty laundry" at home!), a marriage (modesty), and the highest degree of intimacy needed is that of the human individual in relation to his individuality. A person must have his sectors or "secrets" not revealed to anyone--not only in order not to earn the accusation of exhibitionism, but also above all in order not to violate the feeling of his own self-worth and personal dignity, and not to lose that spiritual strength which our secrets give us. The sphere of intimacy is the sphere of our *sacrum*, which we must not profane.

The violation of the sphere of intimacy may have a varied character and diverse effects. The Greek sage Pittakos from Mytilene cautioned: "Do not tell in advance what you intend to accomplish, because if you do not succeed, then you will run the risk of ridicule." The unnecessary disclosure of intention lessens the chance of success, for the pressure of opinion of those who know about our intention deprives us of our independence and freedom of action, and what is most important, we lose the spiritual power that is the intimacy of our intention. We are not talking about all intentions here--the intention to leave home for work, for instance, is not a matter of intimacy. By its nature, all that public opinion would recognize as "immoral," and thus "irrational" in some sense, is intimate. This "irrationality" which demands intimacy has two aspects: spectral, demonic, and ideal, social. Freud called the first the sub-conscious--the sphere of urges--whereas the second--the superego--is the sphere of ideals, norms and duties. Rudolph Ott, in looking at this "irrationality" as an intimate "secret" (*sacrum*), distinguished between the "thrilling secret" and the "fascinating secret."



A very mistaken and pernicious belief that has been generally accepted is that everything that is "intimate," "irrational" is bad and worthy of censure. Such rationalism is not humanism. It is true that when a person lives in an evil social world, he himself becomes evil, and then that which Goya drew is realized: "When reason sleeps, demons awaken." But there is also a good "irrationality" in man, without the help of which none of us could restrain the "demons."

### The Threefold "I"

From childhood we have communed with ourselves, but we do not really know that we have in ourselves a threefold "I": the reflexive, subject "I," the moral, object "I," and the ideal, exemplary "I." The first one judges the others according to an ideal model, although it does not always realize that in evaluating a real "I" it compares it with some ideal "I." The result of this evaluation may be the full or partial acceptance of oneself, or there may be a lack of acceptance. It is amazing how often we do not realize that that which has essential meaning in life for us is not only health, prosperity and social position, but also the state of our ideal "I." It may be fascinating and expressive, like a splendidly executed and touched-up photograph, but it may be diffuse and in decay. One speaks now of a so-called moral disintegration. It is characteristic not only of people excessively dependent on alcohol and narcotics, who are psychologically ill, but also people who are totally lacking in a feeling of personal worth, whose life boils down to satisfying their needs and urges through the use of more or less artful methods depending on their degree of intelligence. Experience teaches that more and more such people have been appearing.

There are various reasons for moral disintegration, but all of them come down to one: when our ideal "I" ceases to be the number one intimate undertaking for us, when we give up creating and realizing in practice our ideal image, a blurring of it must ensue. And so the cause of disintegration is the neglect of autocreation. At its foundation lie three agents: the lack of initiation into autocreation during the process of upbringing, certain social situations in which consolidation and realization of the ideal "I" is awkward and "inadvisable," and the devastation of the inner life through the profanation of one's own intimate sphere. The third one most often appears when our ideal "I" gets interpreted in a religious way and when our religiosity becomes religiosity for "show." The religious mystification of the ideal "I," or the transformation of the personal autocreative vision into one or another god, in and of itself is not bad, but what is bad is the profanation of the intimacy of this vision. When our ideal "I" ceases to be our number one intimate undertaking, then it loses its moral and spiritual power and becomes dim, an "intention that flashed like powder in the pan," not causing any shot to be fired. The intimacy of our ideal "I" can also be compared to the enclosing and compressing of steam which acquires its titanic power thanks to this. It is precisely this moral, spiritual power of the intimacy of our autocreative vision, which is our axiological center, our personal "God," that is the secular, humanistic substance of the evangelical command to pray in secret, to do good on the quiet, in such a way that "the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing." The reward for this is inner integration, the experience of one's personal worth, or in other words, harmony with our ideal "I" which no external advantages are in a position to replace.



## An Iron Curtain

If already 2000 years ago an accurate intuition indicated to people the importance of intimacy in religion, then how much more significant and important it is today in the era of science and technology. The irrational side of religion collides more powerfully with social life today than centuries ago. It is also not surprising that there exists a gradual but constant process of spontaneous secularization in relation to which religions must join against (ecumenism) in order to oppose. The autocreative vision--in its religious as in its secular version--demands, of course, externalization, but not in words and gestures that contradict practice in life, but precisely in authentic life, as mastery and excellence in work, beauty and grace of behavior, goodness and nobility in relationships with people. In Marxist understanding this will be tied to the appropriate political activity of creating a better social world.

We are approaching here a group of such values in worldview that can comprise not only a common plane of dialogue, but also the final goal of this dialogue, eliminating the need of continuing it. For if we take into consideration: 1) the evangelical command for religious intimacy, 2) the evangelical command for the perfection of life, and 3) the contemporary development of logical and ethical consciousness on the one hand, and the need for intimacy on the other, then the model for life, for religious people equally as for the non-religious, will be the person who cultivates his intimate life in the modern understanding characterized above. Consequently, in social life there will be no noticeable difference between the religious and the non-religious; the difference will exist only in the intimate sphere: the autocreation of religious people will be theocentric, while the autocreation of non-religious people will be visiocentric. That is, for the former the autocreative vision will be called God as of old, and for the latter it will be that which it truly is--simply an autocreative vision.

The autocreative vision in both cases relaxes the rigors of reason: in the first case, for the benefit of creative freedom, the free penetration of the sphere of possibility without special consideration for the existing canons of science and logic. Such freedom is an essential condition for breaking down these canons, for progress in science and practice. So in both cases the whole person can affirm himself: not only as a rational being but also as a non-rational one. However, that which is non-rational will be cultivated exclusively in the intimate sphere, which will decisively distinguish Catholics and Marxists from morally disintegrated, materialistic people who bring irrationality into social practice as a cult of things, consumption, physical violence, etc., summoning, however, not the affirmation but the degradation of their individuality.

Up till now it has been as bad and harmful that irrationality has been spreading from the intimate sphere to social life and destroys it in various ways, as that rationality wrongly intrudes into the intimate sphere and devastates it. There must be an "iron curtain" built between social life and the sphere of intimacy, guarding social life from the invasion of irrationalists, and the intimate life from an invasion of rationalists. The weakness of religious

culture is the violation of evangelical commands for the intimacy of religion and the perfection of life, whereas the weakness of secular culture is the treatment of the irrational side of man as exclusively bad, the tendency to rationalize everything.

#### Between Floors

That which is most important for man, which gives sense and direction to his life, is not found on the "floor" of the supernatural sphere, nor on the "ground floor" of real, biological and social matters and values, but on the "half-floor" of the ideal "I," or the fascinating vision of autocreation. Neither theocentrism, therefore, nor sociocentrism, and even more so not biologism or individualism, but visiocentrism is the proper philosophy of man, his life and development.

Since the autocreative vision determines the human sacrum, it should be guarded and cultivated in the human intimate sphere. It should not be manifested in words alone, in cult symbols subject to profanation on the part of the believers themselves, but in behavior that realizes the intimate, imagined, ideal "I." This "I" condenses in itself all the values esteemed by ourselves, instilled in us through our upbringing and our life. There, among others, are the ideals of good and truth, ascribed by religious people to God. However, if this God is really supposed to be the highest truth, he must be freed from chronic contradictions, which have burdened theocentrism from the time of St Augustine. Let us take, for example, this sort of statement by the eminent theologian Wincenty Granat:

"A Christian believes that God is the guarantee of human freedom because no one can make a tool of man, since he stands above all nature and since the human collective cannot take away from him that which it did not give him. Any tyranny is at odds with a belief in God, since it wants to take away freedom which belongs only to God; man as the son of God and partaker of his nature cannot be subordinated completely to any human cause. God, on the other hand, does not take away freedom and autonomy, but strengthens it, and the more one has of Him, the more one is autonomous and free." ("Towards Man and God in Christ," Lublin, 1972, vol I, p 112).

So if we logically distinguish the personal God from man and do not confuse Christian theism with pantheism, then the statement "freedom belongs only to God" does not leave any doubt about whether the acceptance of God's existence takes away man's freedom, and absolutely at that. Philosophers from the most ancient times to our day have emphasized this. The matter is completely different when we understand God in accordance with the actual state of affairs--as one's own autocreative vision. Then the freedom of this vision will in fact turn out to be our freedom. If the church replaced the expression "personal God" with "autocreative vision," then it would free itself from all contradictions, from increasing interpretive difficulties, and perhaps even--one may dream--would make religious literature choice material for the goals of socialist education.

As the religious side is weighed down by the errors and contradictions of theocentrism, so the errors of sociocentrism weigh down the secular side, which is sometimes Marxism. Let us be true to Marx and consistently acknowledge man as the highest good, but man capable of autocrecreation through masterful fulfillment of various social roles, and then this man will become the authentic demiurge of the new world society.

Let us also be true to Engels, who wrote: "The greater the uncompromising attitude and independence shown by science, the more true it is to the interests and aspirations of the workers."

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CSO: 2600/887

## PROBLEMS IN OPINION POLL STUDIES EXAMINED

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 2, Feb 84 pp 6-11

/Article by Jan Kurowicki: "What Good Is Public Opinion?"; version of a paper read at a methodological seminar organized by the Public Opinion Research Center/

/Text/ One of the important political problems in today's Poland is the "public opinion" studies problem. But this is not because "society's subjectivity" has increased, or the declarations of our citizens have become especially important, or the government is aware more than ever before that without the support of the masses they govern arbitrarily and thus commit the error of voluntarism. Instead, the real reason is the idea that the problems of a socialist democracy will be resolved only in a properly functioning system in which a group of experts and the results of public opinion studies enable decisions to be made that are in accordance with society's expectations. In this context, these studies are concurrently a synonym for consultations and a means for allowing different social groups to voice their opinions.

1.

It is not by chance that I have placed "public opinion" in quotation marks. I believe "public opinion" bears no cognitive reference to reality, even though it has a distinct ideological sense. This lack of a cognitive foundation was pointed out long ago by our famous sociologist Tadeusz Szczurkiewicz who, in pondering the influence of the daily press, stated that he associated this influence with a multitude of misunderstandings and linguistic contaminations, with notational hypostases rooted in everyday speech and in inertly adapted scientific language.

The ideological justification, in turn, was expounded clearly by C. Wright Mills in "The Elite of Government." He properly observed that this category in itself assumed that a free exchange of views is accomplished in small or large groups, whereas democratic institutions make it possible to respond to various opinions. In addition, independent organs form opinions and transform them into actions. An opinion, which is the result of conducted discussions, represents its own kind of resolution which the authorities then formulate into laws as the "prevailing will of the people." The parliament, as it were, is the crowning achievement of diffuse circles of public opinion. It represents a model for those circles in which citizens, who are in direct company with

one another, discuss public affairs. "This 18th-century concept of the public shaping public opinion," observes Mills, "is the counterpart of the economic concept of a market in a free-enterprise system. On the one hand, we have a market consisting of entrepreneurs competing with one another independently; on the other hand, we have a public consisting of equivalent public-opinion discussion circles. Just as price is the result of the abrasiveness of anonymous, equivalent market units that haggle with one another, so public opinion is the result of the fact that every citizen has thought out for himself certain matters and then added his voice to the overall great choir of voices. Of course, some individuals can have greater influence in molding opinions, but no one group can monopolize a discussion or designate beforehand the final opinion."

This whole concept, states the author of "The Elite of Government," is a transposition to society of the ideal of the intellectual and the supremacy of the intellect. It is not by chance, then, that carefully educated individuals were included in the upper portion of "public opinion," which evidently was associated with proper class status, whereas the constitutive assumptions of the his concept are as follows:

- 1) the assumption that the conscience of individuals represents the source and measure of all judgments;
- 2) the assumption that every public action should be preceded by a rational discussion among individuals, designating the direction of a given action;
- 3) the assumption that a natural and peaceful harmony of interests prevails among the individuals taking part in forming an opinion;
- 4) the assumption that the whole of society operates in accordance with that which it recognizes as just, apt or true.

I believe that by merely enumerating these assumptions the ideological character of the "public opinion" category will be clearly evident. In speaking about ideology I am thinking about that sense of the concept that Marx employed in "Ideologii Niemiecka" /German Ideology/ and elsewhere when he pointed out the illusions that mystify and conceal the real configuration and the factual substance of social relationships and their internal contradictions that are conditioned by production relations, especially systems of ownership.

Mills, obviously, criticizes this category from another perspective. (This perspective, in light of the methodology of historical materialism, also has an ideological character because it stops at the systems-of-ownership level, their differentiation and their internal contradictions.) Namely, he contrasts a society having a free enterprise economy with a society whose form is defined by the dominance of monopoly. Against this background, he repudiates liberal ideology and its creation: "public opinion." "There is now a shift," he says, "from widely dispersed small centers of government to concentrated centers of government; attempts are being made to introduce monopolistic control--in part hidden--by powerful centers of government which become centers of authority as well as manipulation. The small shop serving the immediate neighborhood disappears and in its place the anonymous national corporation appears; mass advertising

replaces personal influences that shape opinions between the merchant and his customer. The political leader speaks via a national information network and uses, when needed, personal arguments in relation to millions of people whom he has never seen and never will see. Entire professions and sectors of industry work in 'branches to mold opinions,' impersonally manipulating the public in order to gain its favor."

In reading Mills, however, one can get the impression that regarding the "public opinion" category he repudiates historical development. It made sense (perhaps limited) under certain conditions of 19th-century management and cultivation of politics, but it ceased being current under the radically changed conditions when the "opinion of the elite" held sway. Such a conclusion also is completely justified on the basis of its concept that assumes, to sum up, other structures of society and a different theory of historical process than those contained in historical materialism. From the point of view of the latter, the ideas concerning the "elite" also mystify social reality no less than the theories concerning "opinions." This is so because they make no mention of an analysis of the character and system contradictions in the realm of systems of ownership. The changed form of capitalist society is identified with its essence. However, this does not in the least alter the fact that from the perspective of historical materialism the performed criticisms of "public opinion" have real scientific value, which should be considered when we want to learn anything about the social world.

## 2.

The reality of research, however, appears differently. This is not only in works that knowingly have nothing in common with Marxist theory. They shamefully ignore the assumptions explicated by Mills which represent a taciturn basis for treating seriously the "public opinion" category as a cognitive category. Thus, "opinion" is treated as something that is above class divisions and party divisions; the possibility of its "scientific" objectivism is also voiced (as is done, for example, by B. A. Gruszy in "Isotota opinii publicznej" /The Essence of Public Opinion/, an essay published in INFORMACJA, PROPAGANDA, OPINIA PUBLICZNA, Warsaw, 1974). Ascribing to it a specific, supraindividual personification, viewpoints are pronounced in all seriousness such as: "If public opinion expresses itself concerning some kind of fact of reality, about its existence or character (content), then it forms a basis for supposing that under other, similar circumstances a similar reply, in any case, expresses a realistic state of affairs which means it can be expressed" (R. A. Safaron, OPINIA PUBLICZNA A ADMINISTRACJA PANSTWOWA, Warsaw, 1980).

Also, in attempting to define "public opinion" it is announced that it is a "synthesis of social judgments and will" but it is not said on what this "synthesis" is based, what sense must be ascribed to "social" and what is meant by the "judgments" and especially "will" of that multiform creation which one is not allowed to identify with that which brings to mind human beings.

Methodological individualism, I believe, is the primary sin of research. Namely, it states that 1) "public opinion" is a collection or the chance opinion of the members of a given social group (stating nothing about any kind of socioeconomic

characteristic of this group); and 2) the popular viewpoints in a given group are identified with "opinion" or they can be prescribed as being derived from a specific person who is separated from the social mass. Based on this rationale, it is stated, for example, that "public opinion, in expressing its observations, proposals and postulates, transmits its information to a state organ." It is a "universal opinion" since "universal" is understood to mean that the judgments (of the "opinion"--J.K.) are expressed and held by many members of a given society, and in addition they repeat themselves regularly over short spans of time. Nonetheless, not every promulgated opinion can be acknowledged as public. It must attract public attention to itself, present the public interest and generate public discussion. This interest and discussion must at least be open to conjecture. Nineteenth-century psychology, which is inseparable vis-a-vis methodological individualism, could not find a more adequate expression than that opinion about "public opinion." It appears here in all its original awkward naivete as a "Marxist" law.

By establishing "opinions" for specific categories, whose behavioristic origin is evident, it is maintained (at least directly) through adoption. These categories include sex, age, education, income, place of residence, religious belief and profession. They play a dual role: they permit opinion "carriers" to be "socially" designated and--second--they are tools for verifying opinions enabling an individual "distance" to be maintained vis-a-vis the "carriers." Thanks to this, it can appear that the researcher is involved with the opinions of "specific people" who are set in a designated place and time. Concurrently, it can appear that he views them "better," that is, "scientifically," and that he does not submit indifferently to their willful lies, illusions, myths and distortions.

It is easily observed that these categories (like a number of similar categories used during "public opinion" research) cannot fulfill their prescribed role. After all, these categories can reveal their full sense when they are examined as factors of the concrete-historical tangle of socioeconomic relations. In themselves, however, they are sterile abstractions; sterile in the negative sense of the word as used by Marx. For Marx, it should be remembered, a negative abstraction is a notion, thought or category examined in itself, outside the context defining its relations representing the social whole. In contradiction to this, studying a hard fact is the intellectual merging of many abstractions, observing the forms they assume as a result of the merger, investigating the principles governing the whole which encompass the given abstraction (for example, category).

Speaking more specifically: if the "opinion" giver is a married civil servant with two children from a small provincial town earning an average salary, a believer and so forth from whom we want to find out what he thinks about the current governing party, then his reply will not tell us anything sensible about his real relation to the authorities as long as we do not find out several other things. The other things, for example, include: Is he part of a bureaucratic system that permits him to negotiate, for example, vacations or coupons for an automobile? Does he take bribes and do his office colleagues take bribes? What kind of office is it? Is he building a villa? Does he live in a basement? Does he have parents living in the rural areas? Is or is not his wife a store



agent?, and so on. Speaking briefly, all these questions should reconstruct him, speaking in Marxist terms, as a being whose human nature finds ways of obtaining living expenses. Thus, the concern here is not at all about him as a being thinking this or that who is associated with a certain list of categories. At the most, all of this is a starting point for true research work, but it is an exceptionally flexible point, sterile and abstract, which leads not to certain ponderables and determinations that can be scientifically documented, but rather to cognitive pretences. For this reason, we should stop considering "public opinion" in terms of a pseudoperson and stop using methodological individualism and other scholarly toys that are being offered by researchers of "opinions."

Research can be presented as acutely different from bureaucratic formalism in whose realm the schematically established rubric would be truly fulfilled. In the meantime it should be something totally different: an interpretation of the real relations reproduced by someone who is the subject of cognitive interests. Only in such a formulation manifested by the said subject will consciousness appear as an expression of those relations. But for it to happen that way, the researcher must not only be a statistician, a recorder of "authentic voices of authentic people," but he also must be someone who operates as a detective, who looks into every nook and cranny, soberly examines even the most noble intentions as conceivable ways of covering up the truth. In short, he must be someone who reconstructs social consciousness that is becoming reality on a basis of which the respondent must not be aware but which exists in him, hidden under situational schematics that were assimilated during life (I discuss this more precisely in the essay "Czy Karol Marks aktualnym jest dla dziennikarzy polskich?" /Is Karl Marx Current for Polish Journalists?/, PRASA POLSKA, No 3, 1983).

Only such a procedure will deter diversified, superficial illusions that are nourished by researchers, though not necessarily "public opinion" researchers, but so-called culture researchers, which in the end is important when determining the essence of these "opinions." Here is an example: in "ultura szlachecka w polsce" /The Culture of the Nobility in Poland/, Jerzy Tazbir states: "At the present time the rural population represents less than one-half of the country's residents. The present culture is not a peasant culture, just as it is not an intellectual or worker culture. It is simply a national culture in which the traditions of old Poland (noble recte) continue to play a certain role. This should not be exaggerated, perceiving their good or bad influences as being entirely absurd in every social phenomenon." Concerning appearance, Tazbir is completely right. The present culture appears to be national.

We are not saying enough, however, when we state that this culture represents a certain form of unity, neglecting what actually is concealed beneath that unity as a multiplicity that is self-contradictory. The nonperception of this multiplicity may be derived from the fact that research on culture is limited to its models that are shaped on the basis of attitudes, and that it refers to its statistical carrier. Tazbir's argument that our culture is not a peasant culture because today the rural population represents less than one-half of the country's residents is highly significant. It is significant because it assumes a research attitude whose prepared models of culture enable it to



articulate the attitudes, simply refer to the conceivable, empirical carriers. The process also vanishes along the way. The process does not depend on the fact that the situational schematics undergo changes and shifts together with the standards of operation and cognitive stereotypes that are encompassed within it, schematics that imitate existing social links and relations that exist in the realm of this process. Matrices are created to some extent from these schematics that convert all cultural material (by giving, among other things, a specific sense to the said model and the "same type" of attitude that is empirical with the model), and from social experiences as well. Thus, the fact is that this process should be taken as derived externally as well as internally. First, it must appear as a whole. Second, it must appear in turn as a world that is deeply differentiated and contradictory, which represents itself only from its formal side under the form of that which is "the same." In association with this, one must know how the above-mentioned matrices (I call them common sense in "Wyprawie w krainie oczywistosci") operate and process that which is read from documents, relics, customs and so on, and also how together with a change in society these same matrices also change. To do this the schematic of man (statistical) versus model (attitude recte) must be changed to man (within a certain system of socioeconomic relations) versus a structure consisting of situational schematics (a matrix) molded during the course of the individual's life activity. Then it will actually indicate how the unity given under the form of multiplicity reveals individuality. For example, it is not the same to affect out of sheer snobbery the noble past of an intellectual with intellectual origin (and--simultaneously--at times noble origin) and an intellectual who has a degree from a higher school but whose parents work in a factory or on a farm. Both of these intellectuals seek different things despite the fact that they behave the same and often say the same things. After all, the first one could be factually seeking his own identity in a specific heritage of tradition while the second is a classical renegade. That difference is actually an illustration that they exist in different worlds, even though they conceal this difference under identical forms.

The superficiality of Tazbir's determinations has an identical methodological source as the superficialities that the "public opinion" researchers came up with. Thus, an analysis of its research bearing is of a significance that goes beyond the problem of the theory or history of culture. After all, this is easy to demonstrate.

Let us consider at least that mass testimony of "opinions" as exemplified by the massive support of Solidarity by diverse social circles during 1980 and 1981, as well as the accommodating approach to "political strikes" whose reactionary and antisocialist intentions were quite obvious. Let us also consider the fact which advocates of the opposition and bourgeois propaganda often cite, namely that various referendums and sociological studies of the "opinions" of the strikers or members of Solidarity "affirmed" the spontaneous unity of viewpoints, the vehement antisocialism and anti-Sovietism that at times were packaged in religious and clerical forms. All of this can be real in toto as an expression of the convictions of "the majority of the people" that was presented in opposition to the government. Thus Solidarity was at a certain moment identified with "society."

In neglecting the lack of a cognitive foundation for placing the government in opposition to society (I wrote about this in my article "Wladza a spoleczenstwo" /The Government and Society/ that was published in the weekly SPRAWY I LUDZIE, No 38, 1982), it should be remembered that agreeing to the identification in the research area has the same value as Tazbir's judgment on the national character of Polish culture. Above all, Solidarity's slogans, programs and actions had different meanings to the different social circles supporting it. It meant one thing to those workers (especially young workers) who had lost faith in a chance to obtain their own living quarters and a reasonable income to support themselves and another thing to those who wanted guarantees for private ownership of means of production and for expanded ownership. Minor or middle-level bureaucrats were guided by other intentions; they did not have those same opportunities to possess what high-level bureaucrats had and wanted to maximize these opportunities. Then again, those who fought to expand branch privileges had different designs than those who demanded equal pay for equal work. The church hierarchy wanted something else in speaking about political and worldview pluralism. Work crews, however, demanded worker control over the production process. All of them were united by a sense of common interest in the source of the evil and the names of that source, and it made no difference in what political language it was formulated; it lent itself to a slogan and the basis for a program. But then again, every project, no matter how much it dealt in lower middle-class, rickety politics and did not satisfy either side of the barricade, could be counted on to generate applause, depending--in addition--on how different it was from the theory and ideology to which that leadership appealed on the surface. In thinking of their true relations and associations, none of the social circles from which Solidarity's members and activists were recruited gave any thought to this sham appearance because it would have been "fruitless" since it was not linked directly to the interests that they and others wanted to "resolve." Thus, playing close attention to "bare opinions" that were eventually betrothed to abstractly conceived categories is an indication of skating on thin ice and is cognitively sterile and, politically, could lead to deplorable consequences. After all, the opposition became convinced of this after martial law was declared in December 1981. But, on the other hand, the government in the broad sense learned, somewhat at their own expense, that the slogans, programs and actions that were part of Solidarity have not been automatically forgotten by the public and are ready to rise again at any moment under the right conditions as long as the agreements in the making are not in harmony with a realistic resolution of the divergence to benefit the working class.

Here it should still be emphasized that in practice Karl Marx used such research principles long ago in "18 Brumaire'a Ludwika Bonaparte." At that time, he was investigating the mutual attitudes of the struggling party before the return of Bonaparte. In wanting to grasp the "general character of the examined epoch," he states that during the Constituent Assembly period everything appeared to indicate that the struggling Royalists and Republicans fought for pure ideas and principles. Then again, the process influencing the Republicans is like a "night when all cats are grey and when one can repeat to the point of weariness the platitudes deserving of a night watchman." In reality: "The Legitimists and Orleaners represented (...) two great parties for order. What united and what separated these factions from their pretenders? Was it only the lilies

and tricolor flag, the Bourbon and Orlean dynasties, the various hues of royalism or in general the royal confession of faith? During the reign of the Bourbons, the great landed interests with their shavelings and lackeys ruled, and during the reign of the Orleaners it was big finance, big industry and trade, that is, capital with its retinue of lawyers, professors and orators. The Legitimist monarchy was the only political expression for the usurpist rule of the bourgeois upstarts. Thus, it was not the so-called principles that separated these factions, but their material living conditions, the two different types of ownership, the ancient antagonisms between the city and countryside, the rivalry of capital and land ownership. Who could deny that the monarchy was linked simultaneously with one or another royal dynasty by ancient recollections, individual discords, fears, hopes, exaggerations and illusions, sympathies and antipathies, convictions, dogmas and principles? The entire superstructure for the various and characteristically shaped emotions, illusions, ways of thinking and views of life is erected on various forms of ownership and on social living conditions."

Be aware: the same process is in essence occurring here, as was illustrated in entirely different materials. (Thus, it can be seen that it has a sense that is more extensive than that attributed to the so-called historical-comparative method to which J. J. Wiatr limits himself and passes over with a general statement in the article "Zachowanie polityczne i eksperyment a rzeczywistosc" (Political Behavior, Experiment and Reality] published in STUDIA SOCJOLOGICZNE, No 4, 1962). Marx does not seek the collectivity or separateness of the Legitimists and Orleaners in the articulated sphere. That belongs to the order of the night in which all cats are grey. Both parties then can avail themselves to a certain extent of convergent slogans and be comparable in criticism (during more or less important moments); they can also differ radically in the area of platitudes. The sense of their reply is also situated in the realm of specific forms of systems of ownership; "they say" things that they believe to be true using similar as well as dissimilar words and expressions, without any kind of help from the side of the liberal assumptions presented by Mills.

3.

As I mentioned at the beginning, the "public opinion" studies problem in Poland is not exclusively a problem for scholars; it is also a political problem. It is becoming increasingly fashionable since it has its place (although silent at times) in discussions concerning the form of socialist democracy. In the meantime, the considerations presented above indicate that this fashion is subject to an unconscious or intentional restitution of the designated ideological myths associated with the liberal doctrine and with the relations of a free-enterprise economy that abide in this doctrine. But what is their source of persuasion in Poland, inasmuch as the socialized sector is dominant which, of course, (at least at first glance), somehow in itself should repudiate these myths? In addition, how can we fall for the idea of studying so-called opinions as long as there is no "public" in Poland in the sense assumed by liberalism?

In answering these questions one must at the very start stipulate that in speaking about the dominance of the socialized sector, we should define it in a precise manner. To do this, however, we should not limit our attention to

domination in the legal and political sense; we must take into account the socialized system of ownership in its entirety, in the socialized sector as well as in the remaining sectors. In other words, this means one cannot decree that the legal and political status are identical with the real economic status (see Julian Ladosz, "Klasa a zawod" [Class and Profession], Warsaw, 1980). For example, when a clerk in a state store sells merchandise under the counter, the socialized store is a pretense. When a doctor illegally releases a worker for an appropriate amount of money, we are not dealing with factual socialization of health service. When a construction director "closes his eyes" to the bungled use of state equipment and material, we should look differently at socialized construction. In each of these examples as well as in the many similar and dissimilar ones which lead to the privatization of property, there is a difference between the legal-political form and the economic content. But the entire procedure begins on what appears to be a low level as the privatization of the labor force. In his work "Struktura spolecznostwa polskiego w ujeciu polskiej socjologii" [The Structure of Polish Society in the Concept of Polish Sociology], Jacek Titternbrun rightly observes: "The role of the concept of the privatization of the labor force as a factor that differentiates individual social classes among themselves becomes especially obvious in cases when the possession of a specific kind of labor force permits its carrier to hold other positions beyond his own in a socialist division of labor, and at the same time to exclude other classes from the possibility of executing the functions performed by him." In addition, this work force, being private property, can be used even in the socialized sector to realize private, capitalistic interests. The famous Tyranski affair is an example of this. Also, the status of socio-economic relations in the provisional period in which our society finds itself complicates matters.

One thing of which there is no doubt and which is important when providing an answer to these questions is that despite appearances, the existing situation creates opportune ground for the revitalization of ideological concepts associated with the "public opinion" category. Clients would include those who, in operating within the framework of the nonsocialized sectors, must foster lower middle-class delusions on themes concerning themselves, their social role and conditions for the functioning of the legal and political institutions. These clients would represent more or less the numerous categories employed in the socialized sector. Undoubtedly, it would also include those whose professional activity is no deterrent in transferring labor from the socialized sector to the private sector (for example, as is taking place in agriculture or construction). I believe that there is nothing to prevent the inclusion among these clients of the masses of upright civil servants from the executory administrative institutions who, with the help of private use of the government's social instruments of execution, maximize personal advantages and privileges. We can also include here workers in certain branches of industry who have opportunities to force privileges and wage increases without increasing their production because of their positions in the socialized system of production. They and many others like them exist in a situation that encompasses many characteristics that are analogous to placing people under conditions of open competition, constant game-playing and struggling for "what is theirs." They are left to their own resources, wits, cunning and penetrating force. To them, society appears to consist of independent individual atoms who are directed by a rationale of

common sense, and it is here, I believe, that grounds exist for reviving "public opinion" with all its advantages and faults.

The fact that in past years the demand to take into account the voice of "public opinion" (recte society) has become especially insistent can be explained by the fact that conducive conditions have arisen in which the above-designated situations could be completely articulated. Thus, that which was personal and private began to ascend in a decisive way over that which socialized or mingled with the socialization process, especially in the sphere of ideological pressures in the area of political-legal institutions as well as in the existing post-revolutionary systems of ownership.

4.

Of course, the solutions to date do not exclude the postulate of the need to investigate the state of social consciousness, except that their course suggests an approach other than the political-logical one functioning universally in research circles or in published replies. But the solution for realizing this approach should be a precise, Marxist investigation of the reasons for the intensive interest in "public opinion."

Before that happens, however, here one can outline at least a certain theoretical order that this investigation should characterize.

It is obvious that an initial condition must be the shedding of some light on the ideological character of the "public opinion" category, which I have attempted during the course of these considerations. The next condition is to differentiate the consciousness that is presented directly as a current expression of the manifested system of ownership that exists at a given moment from the internal form of social consciousness. Also, in the realm of this differentiation, one should keep in mind the dissimilarity of the logically arranged, systematized replies from the collection of random, conscious reactions that assume the form of illusions, ideas, legends, myths and judgments of the individual on his them or on an important political matter. One also must not overlook the fact--and this is a subsequent matter--that the randomness of these reactions has nothing in common with confusion and chaos. On the contrary, these reactions are subordinate to the structure of the internationalize situational schematics consisting each time of an individual type of common sense. This common sense, in turn, is concurrently a filter and a transformer for the system of ownership that is realized during the life process by the individual, as is the knowledge associated with it. It is an area which Jerzy Plechanow at one time called "social psychology," having in mind that which mediates the functioning of differentiated forms of social consciousness and the functioning of man in a structure of production relations.

It is only with such a concept that a new subject of research will appear which could be called, for example, social opinion research. The concern here is not only about changing the word "public" to "social." The word "public" would refer to the above-described ideological illusion which inevitably arises during the course of the spontaneous development of social relations, together with a gamut of other ideological illusions. Then again, the word "social"

would mean that the research encompasses a certain juncture of socioeconomic relations, whose direct conscious expression is some kind of viewpoint, idea or the like which--before it is born--will be first filtered through one of the disseminating types of common sense that express the true class disarray of the social world. With this concept no idea would have any sense by itself. As such, it would be treated as a nothing, not to mention of an abstraction, and thus as something that was extracted from a certain whole structure of relations and connections. To put it another way: no idea or viewpoint would be anything more than a form for the manifestation of these relations. They would lose their arbitrary autonomy and ability to be easily associated with the "public." All the same, the study of social opinion would become integrated with the study of society in the entirety of its manifestations.

Prof Dr Jan Kurowicki's text is an article version of a paper delivered at a methodological seminar organized by the Center for Social Opinion Research.

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CSO: 2600/884



## 'MYSTERIOUS' DEATH OF BARTOSZCZE DISCOUNTED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 12, 24 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Slawoj Kopka: "Accident on the Smyrnia"]

[Text] From the accident report in DZIENNIK WIECZORNY: "Between 6 and 12 February 1984, 14 road accidents took place in Bydgoszcz Province, in which one person died, and 18 were injured. Drunk driving was the most frequent cause of the accidents. In the same week, the road patrol issued 163 warnings, 328 violation tickets, and 52 misdemeanor court orders; 18 drunk drivers were detained."

The driver of a Syrena-Bosto, registration number BYZ 39-53, despite what an American correspondent later made up, did not meet a police patrol that day and was not recorded in a police patrol notebook. Probably the first person who noticed the vehicle in the Smyrnia canal on the Sojkowo-Radlowek route on 8 February was bus driver Lech Z. He stopped his bus and together with its passengers went to look at the scene of the accident. With the help of a flashlight he illuminated the interior of the Syrena (it was 5 am), saw nothing that would require his intervention and left without giving further attention to the matter.

Not until 9.45 am did the information about the car in the canal reach the RUSW [Regional Office for Internal Affairs] duty officer in Inowroclaw. Zygmunt K., an Inowroclaw resident--as recorded by Master Sergeant Czeslaw Czerski--passed on the information that a turned over Syrena vehicle was lying in the Smyrnia canal on the Sojkowo-Radlowek route. The duty officer did not say whose car it was, and nobody was near the car.

Master Sergeant Ryszard Kostrzycki, sent to the scene of the accident, confirmed the information. At 10.30 am, an RUSW operations-investigation team arrived from Inowroclaw. Warrant Officer Andrzej Grzelinski began to prepare the protocol of the inspection. It follows that the accident took place on the small concrete bridge spanning the Smyrnia canal, on the Radlowek-Rycerzewko road. The Syrena, after hitting the rail of the bridge, rolled down the slope to the canal, partly sinking its right side in the water. As a result of the impact, the rail of the bridge was completely torn out and twisted, and the vehicle was damaged in front and on the side. The window pane was missing in back right door, and inside the car the first-aid kit and tools were on the floor. The tire on the left rear wheel had no tread.

The vehicle was pulled out about 3 pm and secured for further tests, which were done the next day. From the extensive protocol of the inspection it follows that inside the vehicle there were no traces of blood. The damage to the vehicle, and in particular, the front fender--"as the result of which the front door could not be opened"--was described in detail. The missing pane from the right double back doors lay together with its seal on the floor of the car. The expert's conclusion was that "the technical condition of the vehicle was not the cause of the collision."

Let us return to the previous day. It was easily established that the owner of the Syrena-Bosto was Piotr Bartoszcze from the village of Slawecin. He was not at home. He had left in that car the day earlier, on 7 February, and had not returned. The search for P. Bartoszcze began.

Here are the testimonies of the witnesses. Piotr's wife, Wieslawa: "On 7 February about 8 pm my husband said that he was going to see his brother Roman who lives not far away in the same village."

The information was confirmed by Piotr's father, Michal Bartoszcze, living in the same household, and his brother's wife, Alicja B.: "He came to see my husband and father-in-law about giving them a lift to the bus stop. They were planning to go to Bydgoszcz (...) After watching a movie on TV, he left the house without saying where he was going. I was convinced that he returned home."

Stanislaw S., a farmer from Radlowek: "On 7 February about 10 pm Piotr Bartoszcze came to my house. He asked me whether my brother-in-law from Bydgoszcz had picked up the battery yet. Piotr stayed for an hour and we spoke about agricultural farms. About 11 pm he left and spoke for 10 more minutes with my brother Ryszard outside the house. Afterwards he got into his car and drove off in the direction of Sojkowo."

Ryszard S.: "He did not tell me where he was going, but I realized from the direction he went that he was going to his place of residence."

Uncle Jan, who together with other members of the family also participated in the search, looked up the neighbors: "I assumed that when Piotr caused the car accident, he was under the influence of alcohol and after the accident he was hiding. This was the reason why I asked the neighbors whether he was in their house."

On 8 February P. Bartoszcze was not found yet. The search continued on the next day. Roman, the elder brother of the missing, was also searching. In the morning he decided to look around the field of the state farm adjacent to the road. It ought to be added that from the place of the accident it was possible to take a shortcut to the Bartoszcze farm buildings. Several dozen meters from the bridge he came across the footprints of one person in the ploughed ground. He testified later: "I followed the footprints. I noticed that my brother (he recognized the footprints as "his brother's") was falling down more and more frequently as he was approaching a drainage pit. (...) Near the pit the ground was much trodden down, as if his brother fell there a



lot. Piotr was lying at the bottom of the pit. He lay with his chest down, head and legs up. The right shoe was not on his foot but deeper in the pit.

Roman Bartoszcze removed his brother's body from the pit and put it aside, placing a jacket under it. He went toward his parents' house, stopping on the way in the house of Wieslaw A., who notified the KUSW. It was 10 am. Soon afterwards an operations-investigation team came from Inowroclaw and began an inspection.

The inspection confirmed Roman Bartoszcze's observations; 99 meters from the bridge footprints of one person began and lead toward the drainage pit.

"As one approached the place where the body was found," the protocol says, "traces of impressions from the texture of the pants material, impressions of the hand, signs of falling, became more numerous. The last of these signs was 32 centimeters from the pit. From there to the pit traces of the left foot wearing a shoe and traces of the right foot in a sock are visible. These traces are pressed deeper, unreadable because of the muddy ground."

The drainage pit is 175 centimeters deep and 120 centimeters wide. Two of its rings are sunk into the ground and one is on the surface, shifted in relation to the others in a way creating a 42 centimeters wide gap. The pit was not secured in any way. As Roman Bartoszcze explained, his brother was leaning over the external ring in such a way that his body was in the gap, with the head pressed against the soil.

The functionaries found numerous traces of rubbed off moss and mud inside the pit. The hands of the deceased were dirty with moss and mud. The face was also dirty, with traces of abrasions. Personal documents, gasoline coupons and 2 and 1/2 thousand zlotys were found on the deceased.

Evidence material, such as clothing and the matter from beneath the nails, was taken for testing. The regional prosecutor "bearing in mind the weight and complexity of the case" recommended that the proceedings be carried out as an inquest.

The post-mortem examination and later an autopsy was done by a forensic specialist, Karol Sliwka, MD, of the Bydgoszcz branch of the Forensic Medicine Department of the Medical Academy in Gdansk. He asserted, among other things: "characteristics of death by suffocation in the form of a moderate degree of sharp distension of the lungs and bloody effusions under the pleura and the heart area (...) a suspicion of parenchyma changes in the area of the heart muscle." Using the Widmark method, 2.66 promils of ethyl alcohol were found in the blood and 2.82 promils in the urine. "The deceased at the time of death was intoxicated," asserted the doctor. The death was most probably caused by suffocation as a result of the clogging of the respiratory openings due to their pressing against the soil. This will be defined more precisely after conducting additional microscopic testing of internal organs samples.

Interest in the deaths of drunk drivers in accidents or as a result of them has, unfortunately, been declining in our country. After all, several dozen

of them die every week and several thousand each year, and we have got used to it. This death, tragic and unnecessary (the 34-year old Piotr Bartoszcze was a father of four children) was one of them. It would be one of them if it happened in a normal, average family. But this time the accident happened in the family of the Bartoszcze, activists of former "Solidarity" of Individual Farmers. Therefore, as some people believe or wish to believe, the Bartoszcze family must have been victimized and harassed by the police and the security service [SB]. They already know that it was THEY, those from the SB, who murdered Piotr Bartoszcze. The authors of the leaflets have not a slightest doubt that the "eminent activist was most probably either directly murdered by SB functionaries or hounded by them to death." In any case, they say, "even if the SB did not participate directly in the murder, it still bears the main responsibility..."

The funeral of the deceased became for many of its participants an opportunity for a demonstration of hostile attitudes and pronouncements. The main role in it, unfortunately, was played by the bishop of Gniezno, who did not shy away from irresponsible words. Under the influence of these words, Tadeusz K., who admitted that "I know the circumstances of the death and accident only from press reports," bade farewell to "our brother who died the death of a martyr." Another speaker, Ryszard H., asserted that "the death was caused not by an accident or even an ordinary carelessness (...) It was other people's activity which resulted in his dying for the cause to which he had dedicated himself."

The Inowroclaw region was in a turmoil. The most fantastic versions of the event appeared. "Somebody" saw armored vehicles, helicopters, mysterious persons, and of course, a particular intensification of police patrols.

Cecylia G. testified on 16 February in the RUSW: "On 10 February, near the news kiosk, B. said that G.'s son had heard some groans. Hearing that, I realized that she meant me and my son. I told her not to talk about us in this regard because we knew nothing about it. Afterwards B. changed it into saying that supposedly someone from Sojkowo heard them."

Well, we know the mechanism of the creation of a rumor. If G. did not hear, then someone else must have heard. Unfortunately, the family of the deceased had their share in creating the atmosphere of tension. Although polite and precise in their testimonies, in which they not only did not challenge the findings of the investigation but actually gave appearances of verisimilitude with the assumed version, they nevertheless said completely different things after leaving the RUSW.

These and other statements played into the hands of foreign broadcasts. Radio Free Europe devoted many minutes of air time to this event. Of course the "official version of the incident raises serious doubts," "the circumstances of the death are mysterious" and "what a well known scenario that is." According to this radio station, "in the person of the 33-year old peasant from Slawecin we could perceive a new peasant leader."

The truth is, however, that the "fighter for a cause" was known in his family and among neighbors not only for his political activity but also for earthly inclinations not so uncommon in the Polish countryside and not only there. It was this lack of moderation which caused him to die in such a tragic way.

The government spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban, answering the question of a foreign journalist, asserted that the affair of Piotr Bartoszcze is an example of exploitation of human death by those addicted to fighting our political system.

12270

CSO: 2600/861

BRIEFS

MILEWSKI COMMISSION ON LABOR LAW--The PZPR Central Committee Commission on Law and Due Process, presided over by its chairman Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, called a meeting on 29 April to review reports on the performance of labor courts and the enforcement of labor law. A debate was held on proposed changes affecting the hearing of labor and insurance cases that have been written into government bills sent to the Sejm. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Apr 84 p 2]

IDEOLOGY SEMINAR FOR YOUTH--A seminar was held on 3 May at the Party Training Courses Center in Warsaw for members of the ideological aktiv of unions of socialist youth. Participants in the seminar met with Leszek Miller, director of the youth task force, Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Central Committee Ideological Department, Janusz Kolczynski, first deputy director of the Central Committee Department of Public Information, and Miroslaw Dackiewicz, deputy director of the Central Committee Foreign Department. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 May 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/962

## BRIEFS

COMMENT ON RADOVIC DEATH--The cause of [Radomir Radovic's] suicide remains unclear, to say the least, since it is definite that he did not die on the day he disappeared, that he left no written note behind, and was considered a level-headed, life-affirming person. From statements made at the burial by young relatives, work colleagues, and mountain-climbing companions of his, it was clear that Radovic had many plans for his future, that he had set a date for his marriage, that he was considered an extraordinarily helpful person, and that nothing in his nature of life up to that time could have indicated suicide. His critical political attitude was concentrated on the problems of workers on whose behalf he wrote numerous letters and petitions to the authorities. At his burial, in addition to Milovan Djilas and his wife and most of the 28 political friends, there was a large number of workers from the enterprise in which Radovic worked--in all, probably about 200 people. Radovic was one of the very few intellectual critics of the regime who had direct contact with workers. [Excerpt] [Zurich NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG in German 9 May 84 p 4]

CSO: 2300/466

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